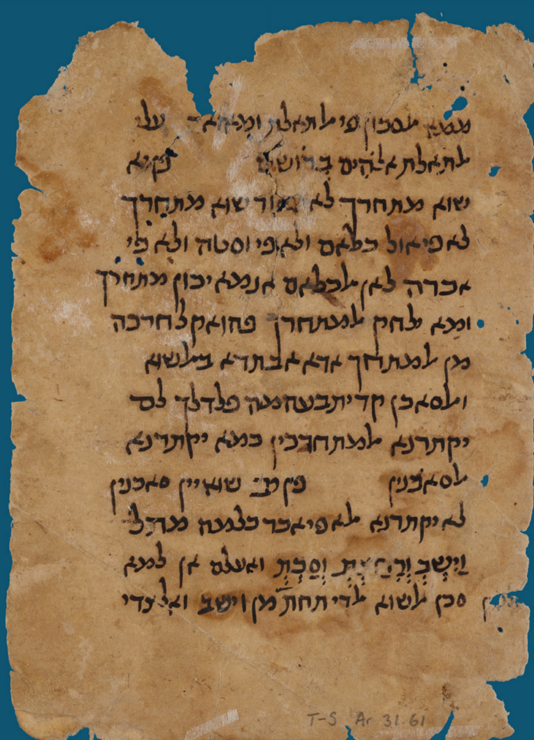
Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures

# The Tiberian Pronunciation Tradition of Biblical Hebrew

Volume II

Geoffrey Khan



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Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies

# THE TIBERIAN PRONUNCIATION TRADITION OF BIBLICAL HEBREW

## VOLUME II

# The Tiberian Pronunciation Tradition of Biblical Hebrew

*Including a Critical Edition and English Translation of the Sections on*

*Consonants and Vowels in the Masoretic Treatise*

*Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ 'Guide for the Reader'*

Volume II

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# Volume II

## Edition and English Translation of the Sections on Consonants and Vowels in the Masoretic Treatise Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ ‘Guide for the Reader’

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# II. INTRODUCTION

## II.Int.0.1. Preliminary Remarks

This volume presents an edition and English translation of the sections of the Masoretic treatise *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* 'Guide for the Reader' that concern the consonants and vowels. This medieval work constitutes an important primary source for the reconstruction of the Tiberian pronunciation tradition, and it has been constantly referred to in volume 1.

Some general remarks concerning *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* in the context of other Masoretic treatises have been made in vol. 1, §I.0.13.1., where references are given to previous scholarship on the text, in particular the important work of Ilan Eldar.

The author of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* was the Karaite grammarian ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn, who was active in Jerusalem in the first half of the eleventh century (see vol. 1, §I.0.13.4.).[1] He produced the work in Arabic in both a long and a short version, first writing the long version and subsequently abbreviating this to produce a shortened recension. These underwent further recensions in later centuries in both Arabic and Hebrew (see vol. 1, §I.0.13.1.). The original Arabic versions written by ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn contained an introduction, followed by sections on the consonants ,vowels and accents. The edition presented in this volume is of the extant portions of the introduction and sections on the consonants and

[1] His authorship is identified explicitly in a scribal note preserved in the Genizah fragment of the short version JRL A 694 (Eldar 1994, 41).

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vowels in both versions. Also included in the edition are some selected passages from the section on the accents that relate to the *gaʿya* and to the interaction of vocalization and stress. Eldar (2018) has made an edition of the section on musical accents and also has published selected passages from other sections of both versions of the treatise (e.g. Eldar 1980; 1987a; 1987b; 1994). There are not, however, any full editions of all the extant portions of the introduction and the sections on the consonants and vowels in the two versions. Moreover, Eldar published the selected passages with a Hebrew translation. The edition in this volume, therefore, complements the work of Eldar by making available the entire text of the introduction and sections on consonants and vowels and by providing an English translation. It is based on many newly identified manuscripts in the Firkovitch collections (National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg), which now allow a complete reconstruction of the text of the short version and a nearly complete reconstruction of the text of the long version. The edition is accompanied by a commentary, which clarifies passages where it has been deemed necessary and contextualizes the ideas of ʾAbū al-Faraj within the linguistic and philosophical thought of his day.

## II.INT.0.2. THE LONG VERSION

In his introduction to the long version, ʾAbū al-Faraj indicates (§II.L.0.1.10.) that the work consists of three discourses (*maqālāt*), one devoted to consonants, one to vowels and one to accents. The introduction to the third discourse refers to the

division of the work into two parts (*ʾajzāʾ*), with the first two discourses in part one and the third discourse in part two:

> The first part contains two discourses. The first discourse contains a discussion concerning the letters. The second discourse contains a discussion concerning the vowels. This part contains one discourse, which contains a discussion concerning the accents of the twenty-one books and the accents of the three books.[2]

The majority of sections of the long version that are covered by the edition here are extant in their entirety in the surviving manuscripts, with only a few, apparently relatively small, gaps.

The grammatical works of ʾAbū al-Faraj reflect a considerable influence from contemporary Arabic linguistic thought and direct parallels can be found between his works and Arabic grammatical literature (Khan 1997; Khan, Gallego, and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, xi–xxxii; Becker 1996; Basal 1998; 1999). ʾAbū al-Faraj's works exhibit convergences with contemporary Arabic texts also in general features of literary form, such as the authorial preface (Goldstein 2014).

The Arabic genre of literature that would be expected to correspond most closely to *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* is that of works on correct Qurʾānic recitation, known as *tajwīd*. A comparison with *tajwīd* works from roughly the same period, such as those of

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[2] MS L8, fol. 57r: אן אלגזו אלאול פיה מקאלתין אלמקאלה אלאולי תשתמל עלי אלכלאם פי אלחרוף ואלמקאלה אלתאניה תשתמל עלי אלכלאם פי אלמלוך והדא אלגזו פיה מקאלה ואחדה תשתמל עלי אלכלאם פי אלחאן אלואחד ועשרין ספר ואלחאן אלתלתה אספאר.

al-Dānī (d. 1052-3)[3] and al-Qaysī (d. 1045),[4] reveals some parallels in structure. These *tajwīd* manuals open with an introduction on the requirements of *tajwīd* sanctioned by earlier authorities. This is followed by a series of sections on the pronunciation of the consonants, arranged by place of articulation, which is clearly analogous to the contents of the first discourse of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*. In these *tajwīd* manuals, however, there are no clear counterparts to the various sections of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* on philosophical aspects of letters (§II.L.1.1.), on morphological formations involving the interchange, augmentation and elision of letters (§II.L.1.5., §II.L.1.11., §II.L.1.13.) and on verbal conjugations (§II.L.1.10), which are found in the first discourse of the long version of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*.

The remainder of the contents of the *tajwīd* manuals are concerned mainly with contextual variations in the realization of vowels, in particular with regard to their length. This does not correspond very closely to the second discourse of the long version of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*, which is concerned with philosophical aspects of vowels (§II.L.2.1.–§II.L.2.2., §II.L.2.18.), the role of vowels in various morphological formations (§II.L.2.3.–§II.L.2.8., §II.L.2.16.–§II.L.2.17), the *shewa* (§II.L.2.9.–§II.L.2.13.) and the production and places of articulation of vowels (§II.L.2.14.–§II.L.2.15.).

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[3] ʾAbū ʿAmr ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd al-Dānī, *Al-Taḥdīd fī al-ʾItqān wa-l-Tajwīd* (ed. al-Ḥamad 2001).

[4] Makkī ibn ʾAbī Ṭālib al-Qaysī, *Al-Riʿāya li-Tajwīd al-Qirāʾa wa-Taḥqīq Lafẓ al-Tilāwa* (ed. Farḥāt 1996).

The *tajwīd* manuals do not contain sections corresponding to the treatment of cantillation accents in the third discourse of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*, since pitch variation in the recitation of the Qurʾān is not prescribed but is improvised (Nelson 2001).

The various aforementioned components in the three discourses of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* that do not have counterparts in the *tajwīd* manuals have been incorporated from the Masoretic tradition, from material on morphology in other grammatical works of ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn, from the Arabic grammatical tradition, e.g. the theory of the production of vowels (§II.L.2.15.),[5] and from philosophical treatments of language in Muslim speculative theological works (*kalām*). The custom of incorporating morphological material into treatments of pronunciation is seen already in earlier Masoretic treatises such as *Kitāb al-Muṣawwitāt* (ed. Allony 1963) and *Seder ha-Simanim* (ed. Allony 1965). It is clear that *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* is hybrid with regard to the nature and origin of its contents. It does not replicate exactly the format of Qurʾānic *tajwīd* manuals. It does not, moreover, constitute a simple compendium of material from the Masoretic tradition, despite the statement to that effect in §II.L.0.9. of the introduction.

## II.INT.0.3. THE SHORT VERSION

The short version of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* has survived in many more manuscripts than the long version. This reflects the greater popularity of the short version. The same applies to the distribution of ʾAbū al-Faraj's grammar book *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī fī*

[5] This can be traced to the Muslim physician Ibn Sīnā (980–1037 C.E.); cf. Eldar (1983) and vol. 1, §I.2.1.3.

*al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya* 'The Sufficient Book concerning the Hebrew Language', which is a shortened version of his original grammar book *al-Kitāb al-Mushtamil ʿalā al-ʾUṣūl wa-l-Fuṣūl fī al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya* 'The Comprehensive Book of General Principles and Particular Rules of the Hebrew Language' and is extant in many more manuscripts than *al-Kitāb al-Mushtamil* (Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, xlvii).

In the introduction to the short version of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*, ʾAbū al-Faraj indicates that he may take the opportunity to include 'where necessary what was not mentioned in the (original) *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*'. This is analogous to his approach in *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī*, in which he in several places states that he is expanding on material that is dealt with in *al-Kitāb al-Mushtamil* or presenting the material in a different arrangement. In one case he admits that the view he expresses in *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* should supersede the remarks he made on the subject in *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, xxxiii).

The first two discourses of the original long version of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* have been made more concise in the short version by removing sections that relate to philosophical discussions of letters and vowels, and sections that are concerned with morphological patterns and processes. The main sections that are retained in the short version of the first two discourses concern the pronunciation of the consonants, vowels and *shewa*. The division into two discourses has also been eliminated.

The first part of the introduction to the short version (§II.S.0.1.–§II.S.0.2.) includes a variety of titles of the work. It is indicated that the long version was called *Kitāb al-Shurūṭ* 'The

Book of Conditions/Rules', but was generally known (*mulaqqab*) by the name *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*. The term *sharṭ* 'rule' is a term that is frequently used in the work. The short version of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* (*mukhtaṣar Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*) is said in the introduction to have been known as *Kitāb al-Muhja* 'The Book of the Essential Requirements (literally: the lifeblood).' This corresponds closely the title *Muhjat al-Qāriʾ* (מהג'ה אלקאר) 'The Essential Requirements of the Reader' that appears in a booklist datable to the 13th century (Allony 1975, 56). A Genizah fragment of the short version has a scribal note that refers to the work as *Kitāb al-Hidāya fī ʿIlm Shurūṭ al-Miqrā* 'The Book of Guidance regarding the Knowledge of the Rules of Scriptural Reading' (JRL A 694). A Genizah fragment of an anonymous Masoretic treatise (CUL T-S NS 311.113) refers, moreover, to what appears to be *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* by the title *Kitāb al-ʾAlḥān* 'The Book of the Accents'.

Some other works of ʾAbū al-Faraj are referred to with different forms of title. This applies, for example, to his glossary of biblical words, which is referred to in the sources with various titles, including *Tafsīr ʾAlfāẓ al-Miqrā* 'Explanation of Biblical Words', *Sharḥ ʾAlfāẓ allatī fīhā Ṣuʿūba fī al-Miqrā wa-Dhikr Ishtiqāqihā* 'The Explanation of Words in the Bible that have Difficulty and the Mention of their Derivation', *ʾAlfāẓ al-Ṣaʿba allatī li-l-Torah* 'The Difficult Words of the Pentateuch' (Goldstein 2014, 357).

The full text of the sections that are covered in this edition are extant in the surviving manuscripts.

## II.INT.0.4. THE MANUSCRIPT CORPUS

The edition of the long version of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* is based on all manuscripts of the work that are known to me. These are extant predominantly in the Second Firkovitch collection of the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg. The corpus includes the following manuscripts. Full class-marks are given together with the abbreviations that are used in the edition:[6]

St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia:

II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2390 = L1
II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2505 = L2
II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 4477 = L3
II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. II 307 = L4
II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. II 418 = L5
II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. II 604 = L6

Cambridge University Library:

T-S NS 301.23 = L7

New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary:

JTS 8110, EMC 829, 832 = L8

The number of extant manuscripts of the short version is much larger and only a selection of those that are extant were

[6] These include some manuscripts that were identified by Ilan Eldar. I identified the remainder in my investigations in the Firkovitch collection.

used for the edition. These again are predominantly from the Second Firkovitch collection, which preserves the longest manuscripts. My corpus includes the following:[7]

St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2347 | = | S1 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2477 | = | S2 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2478 | = | S3 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2480 | = | S4 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2481 | = | S5 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2528 | = | S6 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2542 | = | S7 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2544 | = | S8 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2551 | = | S9 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2557 | = | S10 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2772 | = | S11 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2794 | = | S12 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2795 | = | S13 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2813 | = | S14 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2814 | = | S15 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2897 | = | S16 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2928 | = | S17 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2941 | = | S18 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2945 | = | S19 |
| II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 2966 | = | S20 |

[7] I identified the majority of these manuscripts in my searches through the Firkovitch collection. Some were drawn to my attention by José Martínez Delgado, whose help is here gratefully acknowledged.

II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 3384 = S21

II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 3944 = S22

II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. II 297 = S23

II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. II 323 = S24

II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. II 325 = S25

II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. II 326 = S26

II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. II 420 = S27

II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. II 488 = S28

Cambridge University Library:

Mosseri I, 57.2 = S29

In addition to these manuscripts, there are also several extant Genizah fragments containing the short version, which were used by Eldar (1987a; 1987b) in his edition of selected passages from the short version. For my own edition I decided to give preference to the longer manuscripts that are now available in the Firkovitch collection.

The manuscripts of the corpus that are used for the edition of the long and short versions are all written in Judaeo-Arabic (Arabic in Hebrew script). They do not include any colophons. Their scribal hands and codicology, however, are similar to the manuscripts from the Firkovtich collection that formed the basis of the edition of ʾAbū al-Faraj's grammatical work *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (Khan, Gallego, and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, xlvii–lxix). Based on this comparison, therefore, they can be dated to a period ranging from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Their ultimate origin would in all likelihood have been the Karaite synagogue in Cairo, which appears to have been the source of most of the Second Firkovitch collection (Harviainen 1996).

## II.INT.0.5. THE EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

The edition of the two texts follows the same basic method as was applied in the edition of ʾAbū al-Faraj's *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Khan, Gallego, and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003). The objective of this method is to produce a text that is as clear and readable as possible but still remains close to the philological reality of the manuscripts.

For each section of the works a single manuscript was chosen to act as the basis of the edition. Preference was given to a manuscript that contains the section in undamaged folios. As is the case with most manuscripts of the Second Firkovitch collection, individual folios are often out of order in the manuscripts of the corpus. This has often necessitated re-ordering the folios. Where the complete section is not contained in one base manuscript, various base manuscripts are used for the section.

As far as possible, the text is presented in the edition exactly as it appears in this base manuscript for a particular section, following its orthography and reproducing the diacritical marks and vocalization. Where scribes make corrections or additions to the text, these are incorporated into the edition. No indication is made, however, of deleted text. Similarly, when text is inserted as an afterthought in the margin, it has been included in the main text of the edition .

Collations are made with other manuscripts that preserve this section of the text. Where there is a difference in another manuscript, this is indicated in the critical apparatus. These differences include both textual and also orthographic variations.

If the reading in another manuscript is clearly superior to that of the base manuscript, the superior reading is adopted in the edited text and distinguished by enclosing it in angled brackets < …. >. Editorial judgements as to superiority in reading do not include cases where another manuscript has a linguistic construction that conforms more closely to the conventions of Classical Arabic than the one found in the base manuscript, so long as the construction in the base manuscript could be interpreted as exhibiting a difference only in linguistic register and is not the result of a scribal error. In some cases where the reading of the base manuscript makes little sense and no superior reading is available in other manuscripts, an emended reading is proposed, enclosed in angled brackets, which is as close as possible in form to the reading in the manuscript .

If small lacunae occur in the base manuscript and the text has been supplied from another manuscript or the missing text is easily reconstructable, the supplied text is enclosed in square brackets […].

As remarked, the diacritical marks of the base manuscript are reproduced in the edition. These include marks on letters and vocalization. In most cases diacritical dots on letters are inconsistently marked in the manuscripts and this inconsistent marking is reproduced in the edition. It was decided, however, to mark a dot consistently over the letters *ṣade* and *ṭet* when they represent Arabic *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ*, respectively, even if they do not have a diacritical dot in the manuscript. The purpose of this was to make the text more readable. Missing or inconsistently marked diacritics of other letters were judged not to reduce the

readability of the text. Indeed, it cannot be excluded that the omission of diacritical marks on the letters *dalet* and *tav* representing Arabic *dhāl* and *thāʾ* may, in some cases, be a reflection of the pronunciation of these consonants by the scribe as stops rather than fricatives due to the interference of his vernacular dialect .

Hebrew words and Biblical quotations are vocalized in some manuscripts. If vocalization appears in the base manuscript, this is reproduced in the edition exactly as it is written by the scribe. The vocalization always consists of Tiberian signs, but in many cases it deviates from the standard Tiberian Masoretic vocalization. These reflect idiosyncracies of vocalization and pronunciation of individual scribes who transmitted the text. The standard Tiberian vocalization of the Hebrew words is given in the translation on the page facing the edited text. The most common deviations from standard Tiberian vocalization include the following:

Interchange of *segol* and *pataḥ* (cf. vol. 1, §I.4.3.3.), e.g.

בֶּרֶע (long version, §II.L.1.10. | Standard Tiberian: בֶּ֫רַע Gen. 14.2 'Bera')

בֶּעֶר (long version, §II.L.1.10. | Standard Tiberian: בַּ֫עַר Psa. 92.7 'stupidity')

גֶּם (long version, §II.L.2.12.7. | Standard Tiberian: גַּם 'also')

מְקֻנֶּנְתְּ (long version, §II.L.2.12.14. | Standard Tiberian: מְקֻנַּנְתְּ Jer. 22.23 'nested')

יַחְדְּיָהוּ (long version, §II.L.2.10.2. | Standard Tiberian: יֶחְדְּיָהוּ 'Jehdeiah')

יִרְבַה (long version, §II.L.1.13. | Standard Tiberian: יִרְבֶּה 'it multiplies')

Simple vowel sign in place of a *ḥaṭef* sign on gutturals, e.g.

וַעַלֵי (long version, §II.L.1.11.4. | Standard Tiberian: וַעֲלֵי Psa. 92.4 'and on')

עַדֵי (long version, §II.L.1.11.4. | Standard Tiberian: עֲדֵי 'until')

וַיְמַהַרֿו (long version, §II.L.2.12.4.2. | Standard Tiberian: וַֽיְמַהֲר֞וּ Josh. 8.14 'they made haste')

Non-standard distribution of *shewa* and *ḥaṭef* signs, e.g.

יִמְחְאוּ כף (long version, §II.L.2.12.1.6. | Standard Tiberian: יִמְחֲאוּ־כָ֑ף Psa. 98.8 'let them clap their hands')

אַלָהְהֹום (long version, §II.L.2.12.1.6. | Standard Tiberian: אֱלָהֲהֹ֕ם Ezra 7.16 'their God')

בְֽיֹ֣ום הַהוּא (long version, §II.L.2.12.2.2. | Standard Tiberian: בַּיֹּ֖ום הַה֑וּא Isa. 27.2 'on that day')

The edited texts have been divided into numbered sections and subsections, which correspond to sense units. In some cases these paragraph divisions are also marked in the base manuscript by various means, such as section titles or blank spaces. In numerous cases, however, they are not marked in the manuscript. It was decided that the imposition of a system of paragraph division produced a text that is far more readable and also would facilitate reference to specific passages. The numbers of the paragraphs consist of three elements: A roman numeral II, denoting volume 2 of the book, a capital L or S, denoting the long or

short version respectively, and a series of Arabic numerals indicating sections and subsections, e.g. II.L.1.7.11 (= vol. 2, long version, section 1.7.11.). Where the original text does not have a title at a major section division, a title indicating the contents of the section is supplied in the translation in brackets. Where the original text has only a generic title at such divisions, such as פצל *faṣl* 'section', the specific content of the section is likewise supplied in the translation in brackets.

Section numbers of this introduction have the prefix II.Int.

The folio divisions of the base manuscript are shown in the edited text by a superscribed abbreviation of the manuscript with the folio number after a colon, indicating where the following text begins, e.g. (L5:17v) denotes that the following text begins on fol. 17 verso of the manuscript L5.

The English translation is intended to be read either in conjunction with the original text or independently of it. An attempt has been made to convey to the reader as clearly as possible the sense of the author. The translation is not, therefore, a slavishly literal rendering of the text, since this would often remain obscure for the English reader on account of the predilection of ʾAbū al-Faraj for complex syntax. Biblical quotations are reproduced in the original Hebrew, with standard Masoretic vocalization and an English translation. Occasional footnotes clarify some details of the translation. Longer explanations on the various sections of the text are given in a commentary after the editions. This commentary includes references to various parallel sources and to the relevant sections in vol. 1.

## II.Int.0.6. Terminology

The technical terminology used by ʾAbū al-Faraj in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* corresponds closely to what is found in his grammatical works (Khan, Gallego, and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, xxxix–xlvi). Much of the grammatical terminology is that which was used in the mainstream Baṣran school of Arabic grammar of the period. There are also a number of survivals of Hebrew and Aramaic terms from the Masoretic and early Karaite grammatical tradition. Some of these have been Arabicized. The main technical terms that are used in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* are as follows.

### II.Int.0.6.1. Arabic Terms

אמר *ʾamr* ‘imperative’

אנחא *ʾanḥāʾ* ‘vowels’

אסאס *ʾasās* ‘basic noun’

אסם *ism* ‘noun’

אסתפהאם *istifhām* ‘interrogative’

אצל *ʾaṣl* ‘basic form’

בי *bē* ‘*bet*’

דאל *dāl* ‘*dalet*’

ואו *wāw* ‘*vav*’

זֻג *zujj* ‘arrow-head’ (term for the vowel sign *qibbuṣ*)

חרף *ḥarf* ‘letter’

חרף אללין *ḥarf al-līn* ‘soft letter’ (see commentary on §II.L.1.1.7.)

חרף מסתעמל *ḥarf mustaʿmal* 'auxiliary letter' (see commentary on §II.L.1.12.3.)

טעאם *ṭaʿām* 'taste (of a vowel)', 'perceived quality (of a vowel)' (see commentary on §II.L.1.1.)

כאדם *khādim* 'subordinate particle'

כאף *kāf* '*kaf*'

כבר *khabar* 'assertion'

כסדאני *kasdānī* 'Aramaic'

כסרה *kasra* (*i* vowel)

כֿפץׄ *khafḍ* 'lowering' (vowel quality) (see commentary on §II.L.2.3.)

לגה *lugha* 'lexical class' (see commentary on §II.L.0.1.1.)

מאצׄי *māḍī* 'past tense'

מדגוש *madgūsh* 'with *dagesh*'

מדכר *madhakkar* 'masculine'

מונת *muʾannath* 'feminine'

מלך (pl. מלוך) 'vowel' (literally: 'king')

מסתקבל *mustaqbal* 'future tense'

מפעול *mafʿūl* 'passive participle'

מפעול מטלק *mafʿūl muṭlaq* 'absolute object' (equated with the Hebrew infinitive, see commentary on §II.L.2.7.1.)

מצׄאף *muḍāf* 'conjoined' (see commentary to §II.L.1.5.21.)

מצדר מסתעאר *maṣdar mustaʿār* ‘transposed infinitive’ (see commentary on §II.L.2.7.2.)

מקטע *maqṭaʿ* ‘prosodic stopping point’, ‘place of prosodic division’ (§II.L.2.10.3., §I.2.5.2.)

מרפי *marfī* ‘with *rafe*’

נגמה *naghama* ‘vowel’

נצב *naṣb* ‘holding level’ (vowel quality) (see commentary on §II.L.2.3.)

נקטה ואחדה *nuqṭa wāḥida* ‘single dot’, i.e. *ḥireq*

נקטה מן אספל *nuqṭa min ʾasfal* ‘dot below’, i.e. *ḥireq*

נקטין *nuqṭatayn* ‘two dots’, i.e. *ṣere*

סאכן *sākin* ‘silent, without a following vowel’

עבראני *ʿibrānī* ‘Hebrew (language)’

עטף *ʿaṭf* ‘conjunction’

ערץ̇ *ʿaraḍ* ‘abstraction, abstract property, verbal property’

פאעל *fāʿil* ‘agentive participle’

פאעל באלג̇יר *fāʿil bi-l-ghayr* ‘transitive agent’

פאעל בנפסה *fāʿil bi-nafsihi* ‘reflexive agent’

פאתחה ‘*pataḥ*’

פעל *fiʿl* ‘verb’

פעל אלדי לם יסם פאעלה *fiʿil alladhī lam yusamma fāʿiluhu* ‘action whose agent has not been mentioned’, i.e. passive.

פעל פי אלנפס *fiʿl fī al-nafs* ‘intransitive verb’

פרע *farʿ* 'secondary, derivative form'

פתחה *fatḥa* (*a* vowel)

צׂמה *ḍamma* (*u* vowel)

קאמצה (pl. קואמץ) '*qameṣ*'

קטע *qaṭʿ* 'disjoined state'

ראכב *rākib* 'affix'

רפע *rafʿ* 'raising' (vowel quality) (see commentary on §II.L.2.3.)

שוא '*shewa*'

שוא מתחרך *shewa mutaḥarrik* 'mobile *shewa*'

שוא סאכן *shewa sākin* 'silent *shewa*'

תלת נקט *thalāth nuqaṭ* 'three dots', i.e. *segol*

תצריף *taṣrīf* 'verbal conjugation'

תקדיר *taqdīr* 'virtual form' (see commentary on §II.L.1.4.8.)

## II.Int.0.6.2. Hebrew and Aramaic Terms

אוֹגֶרָה 'collection' of exceptional words with regard to the occurrence of *dagesh* on initial בגדכפת consonants (§II.L.1.7., §II.S.2.0.)

אינת the person prefixes of the prefix conjugation (א, י, נ, ת)

אָתֵא מֵרַחִיק 'coming from far', a variant form of *deḥiq* (§II.L.1.7., §II.S.2.0.)

בֵּית הַבְּלִיעָה 'place of swallowing, throat'

גמאל ‘*gimel*’

גַּנִּי symbol representing verbal conjugations with imperatives containing *pataḥ* in the first syllable and past forms containing *ḥireq* in the first syllable (§II.L.2.7.2., §II.L.2.8.2.)

גָּעְיָה ‘*gaʿya*’

דָּגֵשׁ ‘*dagesh*’

דִּדְחִיק ‘what is compressed’, *deḥiq*, compression of a vowel that brings about the occurrence of *dagesh* at the beginning of a following word (§II.L.1.7., §II.S.2.0.)

דִּפְסִיק ‘what is paused’, a pause due to *paseq* (§II.L.1.7., §II.S.2.0.)

הא, הֵי ‘*he*’

וָו ‘*vav*’

חית ‘*ḥet*’

חֹלֶם ‘*ḥolem*’

חֶרֶק ‘*ḥireq*’

טית ‘*ṭet*’

טַעַם (i) ‘accent’; (ii) ‘taste (of a vowel)’, ‘perceived quality (of a vowel)’ (see commentary on §II.L.1.1.)

יוד ‘*yod*’

כּוֹנַן symbol representing verbal conjugations with imperatives containing *ḥolem* in the first syllable and past forms containing *pataḥ* in the first syllable (§II.L.2.5.)

למאד ‘*lamed*’

לָשׁוֹן ‘lexical class’, ‘linguistic form’ (see commentary on §II.L.0.1.1.)

מְיֻדָּע ‘definite’

מים, מאם ‘*mem*’

מַכֶּה symbol representing verbal conjugations with imperatives containing *pataḥ* in the first syllable and past forms containing *segol* in the first syllable (§II.L.2.7.2.)

מֻכְרֶת ‘disjoined’ (see commentary to §II.L.1.5.21.)

מְנֻכָּר ‘indefinite’

מֵסַב symbol representing verbal conjugations with imperatives containing *ṣere* in the last syllable and past forms containing *pataḥ* in the last syllable (§II.L.2.8.2.)

מַפִּיק, מַפֵּק *mappiq*

נון ‘*nun*’

סגולה ‘*segol*’

סמאך ‘*samekh*’

סָמוּךְ ‘conjoined’ (see commentary to §II.L.1.5.21., §II.L.2.17.)

עָבַר ‘past tense’

עין ‘*ʿayin*’

עִיקָּר הַלָּשׁוֹן ‘root of the tongue’

פא ‘*pe*’

פתח ‘*pataḥ*’

צדי ‘*ṣade*’

צֵרִי ‘*ṣere*’

קוף ‘*qof*’

קָמֵץ ‘*qameṣ*’

ריש ‘*resh*’

רָפֵה ‘*rafe*’

שׁוּעָל symbol representing verbal conjugations with imperatives containing *shureq* in the first syllable and past forms containing *qameṣ* in the first syllable (§II.L.2.6.)

שִׁין ‘*shin*’

שִׁירָה symbol representing verbal conjugations with imperatives containing *ḥireq* in the first syllable and past forms containing *qameṣ* in the first syllable (§II.L.2.8.2.)

שִׁירֹו symbol representing verbal conjugations with imperatives containing *ḥireq* in the first syllable and past forms containing *ḥolem* in the first syllable (§II.L.2.5.)

שרק ‘*shureq*’

תָּו, תָּיו ‘*tav*’

תֵּמַהּ ‘interrrogative’

# HIDĀYAT AL-QĀRIʾ

# HIDĀYAT AL-QĀRIʾ (LONG VERSION)

## II.L.0.0. (INTRODUCTION)

GAP

## II.L.0.1.

[…] לְי֥וֹם קוּמִ֖י לְעַ֑ד ‘for the day when I arise as a witness’ (Zeph. 3.8), יְהוָ֤ה ׀ אוֹרִ֣י וְ֭יִשְׁעִי ‘The Lord is my light and my salvation’ (Psa. 27.1), which are two masculine nouns, since the accent is at the end and not the beginning of the word. Another example is הַשָּׁ֥בָה עִֽם־נָעֳמִ֖י (Ruth 2.6), which means ‘who returned’ and is a past verb, since the accent is on the first letter. Similar to this in letters and form is וְשָׁבָ֞ה אֶל־בֵּ֤ית אָבִ֙יהָ֙ (Lev. 22.13), which means ‘and she became one returning (to her father’s house)’, ‘she became one doing’, since the accent is not on the first letter. A similar case is כָּל־הַ֠נֶּפֶשׁ הַבָּאָ֨ה לְיַעֲקֹ֤ב (Gen. 46.26), which means ‘every soul (belonging to Jacob) that is entering’. Since the accent occurs on the *ʾalef*, (it means) the soul became one doing, as opposed to כָּל־הַנֶּ֧פֶשׁ לְבֵֽית־יַעֲקֹ֛ב הַבָּ֥אָה מִצְרַ֖יְמָה (Gen. 46.27), which means ‘(all the persons belonging to Jacob who) arrived’ or ‘who entered’. The *he* in the first word (i.e. הַבָּאָ֨ה Gen. 46.26) is the *he* of the definite article, whereas in the second word (i.e. הַבָּ֥אָה Gen. 46.27), it is in place of אֲשֶׁר. The accent has changed two things: the meaning (of the word) and the meaning of the affixed *he*. Likewise, שָׁ֗בוּ עַל־עֲוֺנֹ֨ת אֲבוֹתָ֜ם ‘They have turned back to the iniquities of their forefathers’ (Jer. 11.10), since the accent is on the *shin*, this is from the lexical class of ‘returning’, as opposed to שָׁב֖וּ וַיָּבֹ֑זּוּ ‘They captured and made their prey’ (Gen. 34.29), which should be interpreted as being from the lexical

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# הדאיה אלקאר

**II.L.0.0.**

GAP

**II.L.0.1.**

(L5:17r) [ ]לא לְיוֹם קוּמִי לְעַד יְיָ אוֹרִי וְישעי פצארא <אסמין> למדכר למא תאכר אללחן ען אול אלכלמה וכדלך הַשָּׁבָה עִם נָעֳמִי ותפסירה אלתי רגעת פעלא מאצׄיא למא כאן אלטעם מע אלחרף אלאול מתל דלך פי אלחרוף ואללפט כקוׄ ושָׁבָה אל בית אביה אלדי תפסירה ותציר ראגעה צארת פאעלה למא תאכר אלטעם ען אול חרף וכדלך כל הנפש הבאׄה ליעקב אלדי יפסר כל אלנפס אלדאכלה למגי אללחן עלי אלאלף (L5:17v) צארת אלנפס פאעלה מכאלפא לקוׄ [כל] הנפש לבית יעקב הַבָּאָה מִצְרַיְמָה אלדי תפסירה אלדי חצלת או אלדי דכלת ויכון אלהֵא עלי אלכלמה אלאולי הא אלתעריף ועלי אלכלמה אלתאניה מקאם אֲשֶׁר גייר אללחן שיין אלמעני ומעני אלהא אלראכב וכדלך שָׁבוּ עַל עֲוֹנוֹת אֲבוֹתָם לחצול אלטעם עלי אלשין כאן מן לגה אלרגוע מכאלפא שָׁבוּ וַיָּבֹזּוּ אלדי יפסר מן לגה אלסבי למגי

1 אסמין] L5:17r אמראן S20:1r (short version)

class of ‘capturing’, since the accent is on the *bet*. Likewise עוּרִ֨י עוּרִ֜י דְּבוֹרָ֗ה עוּרִ֥י עוּרִ֖י דַּבְּרִי־שִׁ֑יר (Jud. 5.12), in which the first (two cases of עוּרִי) mean ‘my rousing, my rousing’, since the accent occurs on the *resh*, whereas the second (two cases of עוּרִי) mean ‘rouse yourself, rouse yourself’, feminine singular imperative, on account of the occurrence of the accent on the *ʿayin*. Similarly, וְדִבַּ֙רְתִּי֙ עַל־הַנְּבִיאִ֔ים ‘and I spoke to the prophets’ (Hosea 12.11) should be interpreted as a past verb, since the accent falls on the *bet*, as opposed to וְדִבַּרְתִּ֖י עַל לִבָּֽהּ ‘I will speak tenderly to her’ (Hosea 2.16), which should be interpreted as a future verb. (To these could be added) other similar examples. On account of this, the accents have an important status and there is a need to learn them.

**II.L.0.2**

If one were to say ‘What do you say concerning the formation of these accents?’, the response would be that they originated by convention among the people of the language, by the help of which they fully expressed their purposes, as in the aforementioned examples and others. They established them by convention, just as they established the vowels by convention, as will be explained. It is not impossible that the established form was based on a particular type of arrangement of the Levites in [ Ezra], peace be upon him, because [ ] the accents were established [ ] his time [ ], for if he investigates what [ ] the forms, he would realize that it was fixed by the Levites [ ] on the basis of the principles of singing and according to the established arrangement [ ] [ ] serves *pashṭa* [ ] close to [ ] two conjunctive accents, namely inverted *shofar*[1] and *merkha*, as will be explained.

[1] I.e. *mahpakh*.

אללחן עלי אלבא וכדלך עוּרִ֤י עוּרִ֨י דבוֹרָ֔ה עֽוּרִי (L1:4r) עֽוּרִי דברי שיר אלדי תפסיר אלאול תוראני תוראני למגי אלטעם עלי אלריש ואלב֗ יפסר תורי תורי אמר למונת למגי אלטעם עלי אלעין וכדלך וְדִבַּ֙רְתִּי֙ עַל־הַנביאים יפסר מאצ֗יא [למגי] אללחן עלי אלבא מכאלפא לקולה ודברתי על לבה אלדי יפסר מסתקבלא אלי גיר דלך ממא יגרי הדא אלמגרי פאדא כאן דלך כדלך כאן ללאלחאן מוקף כביר ואלחאגה תדעו אלי עלמהא

**II.L.0.2.**

פאן קיל פמא [ת]קול פי הדה אלאלחאן מן רתבהא קיל לה אנהא מואצ֗עה פי אלאצל בין אהל אללגה כמלו בע[ונהא] אגראצ֗הם כאלאמתלה אלמדכורה וסואהא פתואצ֗עו עליהא כמא תואצ֗עו עלי אלמלוך עלי מא יגי ביאנה ומא ימתנע אלת[ואצ֗ע] עלי וגה מכצוץ מן תרתיב אללוים פי [ עזרא] ע̇ א̇ל לאן [ ]אלאלחאן מוצ֗וע[ ] זמאנה[ ] לאן אדא תאמל מא [ ] אלאחכאם עלם אנה מן תקריר אל[לויים ] עלי אצול אלשיר ועלי מואצ֗עה תרתי[ב ] (L1:4v) [ ] [ ] יכדם אלפשטה [ ] אלקריב אלי[ ]כאדמין והמא אלשופר אלמקלוב ואלמארכה עלי מא יאתי ביאנה וכדלך אלתביר

Likewise, *tevir* is served by two conjunctive accents, namely *merkha* and *darga*. Each has its own special melody, and a particular number of tones in various different pitches according to the accent when it is followed by a vowel in the word, as will be explained. If it be said ‘What is the origin of the melodies of the accents before the aforementioned arrangement was fixed?’, the response would be as follows. It is possible that the people of the language paused on one letter and made it slightly longer than another one to the extent that they could make thereby their intentions known. My claim that the accents have been fixed since the time of the prophets, peace be upon them, is supported by three things.

**II.L.0.3**

One of these is that the nation has not been cut off from the holy land. The period in which they were cut off from it was between the two temples, concerning which it is stated אָ֣ז תִּרְצֶ֤ה הָאָ֙רֶץ אֶת־שַׁבְּתֹתֶ֔יהָ בָּהְשַׁמָּ֣ה מֵהֶ֑ם ‘Then the land shall enjoy its sabbaths while it lies desolate without them’ (Lev. 26.34, 43).[2] When the land completed its rest in the periods of its lying fallow, הֵעִ֣יר יְהוָ֗ה אֶת־ר֙וּחַ֙ כֹּ֣רֶשׁ מֶֽלֶךְ־פָּרַ֔ס ‘the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia’ (Ezra 1.1 etc.) and he sent up the two groups (of returnees) to the holy land, the group of Ezra and the group of Nehemiah, according to what [ ] Ezra. After they arrived in the Holy Land they were not cut off from it until this day. Now the reading that Ezra, peace be upon him, and his congregation used to read is the reading of the Land of Israel today. It has remained the way (of reading) that has been transmitted among them from generation to generation, from

[2] The wording is a conflation of the two verses Lev. 25.34 and Lev. 26.43 in the Masoretic Text.

יכדמה כאדמין אלמארכה ואלסלסלה ולכל כא[ן] תנגים מכצוץ וחרכאת מעדודה עלי וגוה מכתלפה חסב <אללחן> אדא בקי בעדה מלך פי אלכלמה עלי מא יאתי ביאנה פאן קיל פכיף כאן אצל אלאלחאן פי תנאגימהא קבל אן תקרר אלתקריר אלמדכור קיל לה ימכן אן כאן אהל אללגה יוקפון אלחרף ויתקלונה ען גירה יסירא במקדאר מא יעלם בה גרצ̇הם יאיד מא דכרתה מן אן אלאלחאן מקררה מן זמאן אלאנביא על̈ אלס̇ אמור ג̇

**II.L.0.3.**

אחדהא אן לם תנקטע אלאמה ען ארץ הקדושה ואלמדה אלתי אנקטעו מנהא בין אלביתין והו אלדי קאל פיהא אָז תרצה הארץ את שבתותיה בהשמה מהם פלמא אסתופאת אלארץ̇ עטלהא אלדי כאן פי אלשמטות העיר ייָ [את רוח] כ̇רש מלך פרס וצע[ד] אלגמעין אלי [ארץ הקדושה והמא ג]מע עזרא וגמע נחמיה עלי מא [ ] עזרא ומן בעד חצולהם פי ארץ [הקדוש]ה מא אנקטעו מנהא ועד היום הזה (L1:5r) פאלקראה אלדי כאן יקראהא עזרא ע̇ א̇ וגמע[הא] הי קראה ארץ ישראל אליום פבקית אלטריקה אלמאתורה מעהם גיל ען גיל וכלף ען כלף אלי

32 אללחן] אלאלחן L1

one offspring to another, until now. If it be said: the wicked Edom deported the people, filled ships with them, left them without a sailor or a helmsman, and caused the hot baths to overwhelm them with smoke until they died, in accordance with what is said to have happened during the conquests of Jerusalem by Edom; the response should be: Although it did to them what you have mentioned, Edom only cut them off from Jerusalem. This is demonstrated by the fact that there was pilgrimage to Tiberias from the direction of the Levant and the East and to Gaza from the direction of the West during the period the people of Edom were in control of the Land of Israel, which was about five hundred years, in accordance with what is mentioned in their chronicles. Those who dwelt in the land all taught their children the Torah and the Scriptures, I mean the remainder of the twenty-four books. If all this is indeed so, then it must be the case that the people used to teach their children what they knew and were familiar with concerning the correct division of the accents and their musical rendition.

**II.L.0.4.**

The second point is that those who were exiled and did not come back with Ezra and Nehemiah, peace be upon them, remained scattered and they lost (knowledge of) the accents, and began to read with different cantillations. Therefore, you see that the (Jews of) Byzantium read in a way that is different from that of the people of Iraq. The (Jews of) Persia have a way of reading that is different from that of the (Jews of) Byzantium and the Iraqis. The people of the West have (a reading) different from all of the aforementioned. Indeed, perhaps some community that you do not know has a way (of reading) that differs from all of these, such as those whom Edom drove away to remote countries, as we have mentioned. It is the general

אלאן פאן קיל אן אדום הרשעה אגלת אלאמה ומלת מנהם אלמראכב וכלתהא בלא נותי ולא מדבר ודכנת עליהם אלחמאמאת חתי מאתו עלי מא קיל אנה גרי פי פתוח ירושלים עלי יד אדום קיל לה ואן כאן קד פעלת בהם מא דכרת פלם תקטעהם אדום אלא מן ירושלים פקט יאייד דלך אן אלחג כאן אלי טבריה מן גהה אלשאם ואלשרק ומן גהה אלגרב אלי גזה מדה מא קאמת גמאעה אדום מאלכה ארץ ישראל והו נחו כמס מאה סנה עלי מא הו מדכור פי אכבארהם ומא כאנו מקימין פי אלבלד אלא ויעלמו אולאדהם אלתורה ואלקראן אעני בקיה ארבעה וכ̇ ספר פאדא תבתת הדה אלגמלה יצח אן אלקום כאנו יעלמו אולאדהם מא עלמוה וערפוה מן תעדיל אלאלחאן ותנאגימהא

**II.L.0.4.**

תאניהא אן אלדי אנגלא ולם יגי מע עזרא ונחמיה עֿ אֿ בקיו משתתין ותשתת ענהם אלאלחאן פצארו יקרו בגיר לחן ולדלך תרי אלרום יקרו בטריקה ליס הי לאהל אלעראק וללעגם טריקה ליס הי ללרום ולא ללעראקיין ולאהל אלגרב מא ליס ללמדכורין ולעל מן מא ע[רפת] (L1:5v) [לה] טריקה תכאלף אלכל וכדלך מן אגלתה אדום וצאר פי אלבלאד אלשאסעה

consensus of those just mentioned[3] that the way of reading of the Land of Israel is the original one and this is what is called the Tiberian reading. This is demonstrated by the fact that the people in the communities of the exile would press any teacher who travelled (from Tiberias) to these distant lands to teach their children the reading of the Land of Israel and eagerly imbibed that from him, making him sit down so that they could assiduously learn it from him. Whoever came from the exile to the Land of Israel had a desire for the teaching of the reading of the Land of Israel that was equally ardent as that of those absent and (a desire) for abstaining from his own (tradition of reading). This is evidence for what I have stated.

**II.L.0.5.**

The third point is that if somebody were to read בְּרֵאשִׁ֖ית (Gen. 1.1) with the accent *tevir* or an accent other than the *ṭifḥa*, he would provoke the congregation to point out his error and angrily censure him. This demonstrates what I have stated. Likewise, if somebody were to read the three books with the cantillation of the twenty-one books or read the twenty-one books with the cantillation of the three books, the congregation would declare him to be in error and reject it. Likewise, if somebody were to read *merkha* in place of *darga*, or *darga* in place of *merkha*, or *reviaʿ* in place of *pazer*, or the like, he would be declared to be in error. Now, if all this is the case, it strengthens my claim that the accents have been established since the time of the prophets. If this were not the case, then anybody who wished to change (the reading) could change it without being called to account for this, just as there would be

[3] I.e. the various Jewish communities outside of the Land of Israel.

חכמה מא דכרנאה ובאגמאע מן דכר אן טריקה ארץ ישראל הי אלאצל והי אלדי יסמונהא אלקראן אלטבראני יאייד מא דכרתה אן מן סאפר מן אלמעלמין אלי הדה אלבלאד אלנאאיה עלקת בה אלגואלי ליעלם אולאדהם קראה ארץ ישראל ותנשף דלך מנה ואגלסוה ליתעלמו דלך מנה באגתהאד ומן גא מן אלגולה אלי ארץ ישראל חכמה חכם אלגאיבין פי שהותה לתעלים קראה ארץ ישראל וזהדה במא פי ידה אמארה עלי מא דכרתה מן דלך

**II.L.0.5.**

ואלג̇ אן לו קרא אלאנסאן בראשית בלחן תביר או מא כאן מן אלאלחאן גיר אלטפחה <לכאן> פי תגליט אלגמאעה לה ואלרד עליה באלזגר דלאלה עלי מא דכרתה וכדלך לו קרי קאריא אלג̇ אספאר בלחן אלואחד ועשרין ספר או קרי <אלואחד> ועשרין ספר בלחן אלתלתה אספאר לגלטה אלגמע ורד עליה דלך וכדי מן קרי מוצ̇ע סלסלה מארכה או מוצ̇ע מארכה סלסלה או מוצ̇ע פזר רביע ומא גרי הדה אלמגרי לגלט פאדא אסתקרת הדה אלגמלה תקוא מא דכרתה מן אן אלאלחאן מקררה מן זמאן אלאנביא ולולא דלך לכאן ללמגייר (L1:6r) אן יגייר ולא יחתסב עליה פי דלך כמא לא יחתסב עלי מן

74 לכאן] לכאן לכאן L1   77 אלואחד] אלואחד אלואחד L1

no calling to account of somebody who wanted to recite in prayer the Psalms or some passage from the twenty-four books without the intention of reading (the text) in order.

**II.L.0.6.**

Some people have considered the following passage to demonstrate that the accents are the work of the Levites: וְשׂ֣וֹם שֶׂ֔כֶל וַיָּבִ֖ינוּ בַּמִּקְרָֽא 'and they gave the sense, so that they understood the reading' (Neh. 8.8). The argument is that there was no one preceding the time of Ezra, as has been mentioned before, and what is referred to (in this passage) is an innovation in relation to earlier practice. This is not improbable, since neither reason nor textual tradition confutes this claim.

**II.L.0.7.**

It is an established fact that the reading has various characteristic features, which the reader must learn in order to ensure a correct cantillation of what he reads. When he does not know this, the cantillation is produced in a corrupt fashion. If it be said 'So what benefit is there in the accents apart from what you have stated?', the response would be that their benefit is that they enable the congregation, however numerous, small or large, all to read one word together, and that they continue, whatever they read, in a coordinated way. Such a thing cannot be achieved without the established accents. Surely you see that Muslims, whether they be two or more, cannot read with the same degree of coordination as the Jews read, since each one has his own way (of reading). One makes long a place that another makes short. One reads melodically a place that another reads flat. For this reason they are unable to achieve what Jews do, because a group and individuals intone according to specific

אראד אן יצלי אלתהלות <ומא כאן> מן דׄ וכׄ ספר אדא לם יכון גרצׄה תרתיב אלקראה

**II.L.0.6.**

וקד אסתדל בעצׄהם באן אלאלחאן עמל אללוים בקוׄ ושום שכל ויבינו במקרא הדא אן לם יכון מתקדמא ען זמאן עזרא כמא דכר מן קבל ויכון מא דכר תגדיד למא תקדם ומא הו בעיד לאן לא יחיל מא דכר לא עקל ולא שרע

**II.L.0.7.**

פקד תבת אן אלקראה להא טרק יחתאג אן יעלמהא אלקאר ליעדל תנגים מא יקראה פמתי לם יעלמה כרג אלתנגים מפסוד פאן קיל ומא פי אלאלחאן מן אלמנפעה גיר מא דכרתה קיל לה אן מנפעתהא אנה יתם ללגמע אלכתיר אלצגיר ואלכביר אן יקראו גמיעא פי כלמה ואחדה ויסתמר דלך מהמא הם יקרון עלי תרתיב ולא יתם מא הדא סבילה בגיר הדה אלאלחאן אלמקררה אלי תרי אן ישמעאל לא יקדר אתנין מנהם ומא זאד יקראו עלי תרתיב מא יקרוה בני ישראל לאן לכל ואחד מנהם טריקה פהדא יתקל מוצׄע יכפפה גירה והדא ינגם מוצׄע ירסלה גירה פלהדא תעדר עליהם מא תם לבני ישראל לאן אלגמע

83 ומא כאן] ומא כאן ומא כאן L1

rules, and they do not change that from letter to letter. If somebody were to change something, (his reading) would be rejected and declared to be incorrect.

**II.L.0.8.**

For this purpose and others, they fixed the rules of the accents and the masters of this discipline composed books and treatises that discuss the principles that have brought about their particular effects. They recorded what has deviated from a particular principle. This includes cases where the reason for the deviation is stated and cases where a reason is not stated. Know that the rules of the discipline of the accents involve the consideration of a particular accent that exhibits some inconsistency and stating what the reason is for this inconsistency. This involves, for example, consideration of the fact that the accent *tevir* is served sometimes by the conjunctive accent *merkha* and sometimes by *darga*, this being a case where the same accent has two alternating conjunctive accents. When somebody considers the reason for this, it is clear to him what the cause is that conditions the *darga*. The other rules are formulated in a similar manner. It is a discipline that is known by all who have investigated it carefully. If somebody has not investigated carefully, he only knows it from somebody who has investigated carefully. It is possible that the person who established these accents founded a discipline derived from them, which was transmitted with its practitioners. Some of this was lost and some remained, just as some of the knowledge of a language may be lost while some remains. This applies to the rules (of the accents). Whoever investigates carefully achieves his goal, or at least part of it. Since earlier scholars—may God have mercy

ואלפראד ינגמו עלי אלחק בעינה ולא יגיירו דלך מן חרף אלי חרף פאן גייר מגייר רד עליה וגלט

**II.L.0.8.**

פלהדא אלוגה וגירה צׄבט[ת] (L1:6v) [ש]רוט אלאלחאן וצׄעו ארבאב הדה אלעלם לה כתבא ותצאניפא יתכלמו עלי אלעלל אלתי ותרת פי מעלולאתהא וצׄבטו מא כרג ען תיך אלעלה פמנהא מא דכר אלסבב פי כרוגה ומנהא מא לם ידכר לה סבבא ואעלם אן אלשרוט פי עלמהא תחתאג אן ינטׄר לחן ואחד יכון פיה כלאף מא פיקול אלנאטׄר מא אלסבב פי הדא אלכלאף כמן נטׄר פי לחן תביר אנה יכדמה תארה מארכה ותארה סלסלה והו לחן ואחד ואלכאדמין מתגאיראן פאדא נטׄר מא אלסבב פי דלך באן לה מא <אלעלה> אלמוגבה ללסלסלה וכדי יגרי אמר סאיר אלשרוט פהו עלם יעלמה כל מן נטׄר פיה באלסבר ואן לם יסבר לם יעלם אלא ממן סבר ומא ימתנע אן יכון אלואצׄע להדה אלאלחאן געל להא עלמא מסתמדא וכאן מע אצחאבה ואנדרס מנה אלבעץׄ ובקי אלבעץׄ כמא אנדרס מא כאן מעלום מן בעץׄ אללגה ובקי אלבעץׄ וכדלך אלשרוט פמן רגע אלי אלסבר חצל לה אלגרץׄ או בעצׄה למא כאן אלמתקדמין

101 צׄבט[ת]] צבטת L5:18r   109 אלעלה] L5:18v ואלעלה L1

upon them—investigated this discipline very carefully, they achieved an expert knowledge of it.

**II.L.0.9.**

When, however, somebody wishes to learn about this, he is not able to find a complete book of theirs on this subject, only fragmentary writings. I have, therefore, been requested to strive to complete this short treatise that I have begun, and I have acceded to this request, acknowledging my deficiencies with regard to it and transmitting what I have learnt from their writings and from their pupils, and seeking help (in this task) from the God of Israel.

**II.L.0.10.**

This book consists of three sections. The first section concerns the letters and their pivots, I mean their places (of articulation) in the mouth, including those that are heavy and those that are light. The second section concerns the vowels, those that are long and those that are short, their places of articulation, their basic form and their accidental properties. The third section concerns the accents, those of low pitch and those of high pitch, and their subordinate accents.

רח̇ אללה קד סבר הדא אלעלם סברא גיידא אתבתו מא עלמוה

**II.L.0.9.**
ולמא ראם אלראים עלם דלך לם יציב להם פי דלך כתאבא כאמלא בל כתב מקטעה פסאל אלסאיל אן אגד פי מא אבתדית בה מן תכמיל הדא אלמכתצר פאגבת אלי דלך מקר בקצורי פיה חאכי מא תעלמתה מן כתבהם ומן (L1:7r) תלאמידהם ובאלהי ישראל אסתעין

**II.L.0.10.**
הדא אלכתאב ישתמל עלי תלת מקאלאת אלמקאלה אלא̇ פי אלחרוף ומראכזהא אעני מחאלהא פי אלפם ואלתקיל מנהא ואלכפיף אלמקאלה אלב̇ פי אלמלוך ותקילהא וכפיפהא ומחאלהא ואסהא <וערצ̇הא> אלמקאלה אלג̇ פי אלאלחאן וצ̇עהא ורפעהא וכדאמהא

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125 וערצ̇הא] וערצ̇עהא L1

## II.L.1.0.
## THE FIRST DISCOURSE: ON THE LETTERS

### II.L.1.1. (Preliminary Discussion concerning the Nature of Letters)

#### II.L.1.1.1.

It should be noted that a letter by itself in isolation does not convey meaning. What we say is demonstrated by the fact that if you say אלף (*ʾalef*), although you may think it is a single letter, it is not one but three letters, viz. א ל פ. Likewise, the בא (*bāʾ*, i.e. *bet*) is two letters. Similarly, when you say גמאל (*gimel*), this is four letters. Similarly, the דאל (*dāl*, i.e. *dalet*) is three letters, and so forth for the remainder of the inventory of letters. This is because one cannot communicate only with the (phonetic) property of the letter itself, but when two letters follow each other, it is possible to do this with them, whether they are identical or different, as when you say גָּג (‘roof’), דָּד (‘breast’), גַּגּוֹת (‘roofs’), דַּדֶּיהָ (‘her breasts’ Prov. 5:19). One cannot communicate concerning the (phonetic) property of *gimel* or the (phonetic) property of *dāl* (i.e. *dalet*) (by uttering the sounds) in isolation. This shows that the original conventional agreement was on the properties of the letters, and since the property could not be talked about (by uttering it) by itself, it needed something else to allow it to stand as an independent expression [ ]. So, to *ʾalef* was added a *lamed* and *pe*, to *bāʾ* (i.e. *bet*) was added an *ʾalef*, and to *gimel mem*, *ʾalef* and *lamed* so that it is possible to communicate about their property in isolation.

#### II.L.1.1.2.

If somebody were to say ‘Why was the conventional agreement not on the *ʾalef* without its property, and on the *bāʾ* (i.e. *bet*) and *gimel* without their property’, the response would be that *ʾalef*

## II.L.1.0.
## אלמקאלה אלאולי אלכלאם פי אלחרוף

### II.L.1.1.

#### II.L.1.1.1.

אעלם אן אלחרף וחדה לא יפיד במגרדה יביין מא קולנא אן קולך אלף ואן כאן ענדך אנה חרף ואחד פליס הו ואחד בל ג̇ חרוף אלֿףּ וכדלך אלבא איצֿא חרפאן וכדלך קולך גמאל ד׳ חרוף וכדלך אלדאל ג̇ חרוף ועלי הדא אלמגרי יגרי אמר בקיה אלקבאלה ודלך אן מחץֿ אלחרף וטעמה לא יצח אלתכאטב במפרדה בל אדא תראדפא צח דלך פיהמא מתלין כאנא או גירהן כקולך גָּגָ דָּדָ גַּגּוֹתָ ד̇דיה פכאציהֿ אלגמאל לא יצח אלתכאטב בהא ולא כאציהֿ אלדאל עלי אלתפריד פדל דלך עלי אן אצל אלמואצֿעה עלי כואץ אלחרוף ולמא לם תכון אלכאציה תנהץֿ בנפסהא פי אלתכאטב אחתאגת אלי אמר אכר יקלהא וינהצֿהא [ ] דלך פאזיד עלי אלאלף למאד ופא ואזיד עלי [אלבא] אלף עלי אלגמאל מאם ואלף ולמאד חתי יצח אל[תכאטב] (L1:7v) באלכאציה עלי אלתפריד

#### II.L.1.1.2

פאן קאל קאיל פלם לא כאן אלתואצֿע עלי אלאלף דון כאציתה ואלבא ואלגמאל דון כאציתהמא קיל לה אן אלאלף פיה ג̇ חרוף

has three letters and each letter has a different property, so how could they aim to know the property of one letter, then two further letters when no property is known to them. Rather it is necessary for them to know the distinctive property of the three letters and then pronounce a single word. My claim that the conventional agreement was initially on the property of the letter is supported by the fact that people differ with regard to the number of the letters that are added to the quality of the letter and its phonetic property, whereas no difference is permitted with regard to the quality of the letter and its phonetic property. This is because the Tiberians add only *yod* to the essence of *bāʾ*, whereas other towns add to it *yod* and *tav* and they say '*bet*'. Likewise, they (the Tiberians) add *ʾalef* and *lamed* to the property of *dāl*, whereas others add *lamed* and *tav* and say '*dalet*'. They add *ʾalef* and *yod* to the quality of *zāy* and say '*zāy*', whereas others add *nun* to this and say '*zayin*'. To *lamād* they add *mem*, then *ʾalef*, then *dāl*, where others reverse this and add *ʾalef*, then *mem*, then *dāl* and say '*lamed*', and so forth. This is also the practice with the remaining letters. The variation has not taken place in the property (of the letter) but rather in the occurrence of the added letters in order for the property to be articulated in a single utterance. If this (i.e. the addition of letters) is what existed in the establishment (of the language), there would be no variation.

**II.L.1.1.3.**

Since the property of the letter requires other (elements), the additions have been added to the property and the letter has become a free-standing entity consisting of a combination of its property with additional elements. After this, however, the

ולכל חרף כאציה מתגאירה פכיף יקצדו כאציהׄ חרף ואחד ותם חרפאן מא ערף להם כאציה ואנמא ינבגי אן יערפו כצוציה אלתלת חרוף תם ינטקו בהא כלמה ואחדה יאייד מא דכרתה מן אן אלמואצׄעה וקעת עלי כאציה אלחרף פי אלאבתדא הו אן אלחרוף אלמצׄאפה אלי טעם אלחרף וכאציתה קד יכתלף אלנאס פי כתרתהא וקלתהא וטעם אלחרף וכאציתה לא יצח בתה אלכרוג ענה ודלך אן אלטבראניין יזידון עלי כאציהׄ אלבא יוד פקט ומדן אכר יזידון עליה יוד ותָו פיקולון בית וכדלך יזידון עלי כאציהׄ אלדאל אלף ולמאד וגירהם יזיד למאד ותו פיקולון דלת וכדלך יזידון עלי טעם אלזאי אלף ויוד פיקולון זאי וגירהם יזיד עלי דלך נון פיקולון זאין וכדלך אללמאד יזידון עליה מאם תם אלף תם דאל וגירהם יעכס דלך פיזיד אלף תם מאם תם דאל פיקול לאמד אלי גיר דלך ומא גרי הדה אלמגרי פי בקיה אלחרוף פאלתגייר לם יקע [פי אל]כאציה בל <פי וקוע> אלחרוף אלמזידה <לנהוץׄ> [אלכא]ציה באללפטׄ פי אלתפריד פלו כאן ממא הו [וקע] פי אלמואצׄעה לם יתגייר

**II.L.1.1.3.**

פלמא אפתקרת (L1:8r) אלכאציה אלי גירה זידת אלזואיד עלי אלכאציה ואסתקל אלחרף בטעמה מע אלזואיד ולם יכן מן בעד

156 פי וקוע] וקוע פי L1   157 לנהוץׄ] בל ללנהוץׄ L1

letter still cannot communicate meaning by itself, because if somebody said '*ʾalef*', he would not thereby communicate to the hearer more than what he already knows, namely that *ʾalef* is distinct from (other letters such as) *ṭet*. The letter, therefore, requires other letters to be combined with it in order for meanings to be understood. So it is required, for example, to have the combination *ʾalef*, *resh* and *ṣade* to (form the word) ארץ, and the combination *shin*, *mem* and *resh* to form שמר.

**II.L.1.1.4.**

Just as the property of a letter requires added elements, the combinations of letters required something else, without which no meaning can be understood by the joining of letters, namely the vowels (literally: 'kings'), which are called also vocalization (literally: inflectional vowels). This is because if (vowels such as) *qameṣ* and *pataḥ* were missing from שׁמר, you would not know to what form to assign the word, whether to שָׁמוֹר, or to שְׁמֹר or to שׁוֹמֵר. This would have been after the vowels were fixed among those who established (the language) by convention. If the vowels are removed, the meaning is not understood at all.

**II.L.1.1.5.**

The letters and vowels also require something else, namely the accents. This is the case as remarked above with (a pair of) words that have identical combinations of letters and identical vowels with no difference (between them), and that require (the placement of) the accent in order for the meaning to be understood, as in קֽוּמִי אֽוֹרִי 'Arise! Shine!' (Isa. 60.1), קוּמִ֖י לְעַ֑ד 'my arising as a witness' (Zeph. 3.8), יְהֹוָ֤ה׀ אוֹרִ֣י וְ֭יִשְׁעִי 'The Lord is my light and salvation' (Psa. 27.1).

דלך אלחרף יפיד מעני במפרדה לאן לו קאל קאיל אלף למא אפאד אלסאמע מנה גיר מא עלמה אנה אלף מכאלף לטית פאחתאג אלחרף איצ̇א אלי גירה מן אלחרוף ינט̇ם אליה ליפהם בדלך אלמעאני פאחתיג אלי אלאלף ואלריש ואלצדי פי ארץ ואלי אלשין ואלמים ואלריש פי שמר

**II.L.1.1.4.**

וכמא אפתקרת כאציה אלחרף אלי אלזואיד אפתקרת אלחרוף אלמנצ̇ומה אלי אמר אכר לולאה מא פהם באנצ̇מאם אלחרוף מעני והם אלמלוך אלדי תסמא אנחא <לאן> לו עדם מן שמר אלקאמצה ואלפאתחה למא עלמת אלי אין תרדהא אלי שָׁמֹר אם אלי שְׁמֹר אם אלי שׁוֹמֵר הדא בעד אסתקראר אלמלוך בין אלמתואצ̇עין ואמא בארתפאע אלמלוך מא יפהם מעני אלבתה

**II.L.1.1.5.**

ואפתקר איצ̇א אלחרוף ואלמלוך אלי אמר אכר והו אלאלחאן כמא מצ̇א פימא אנצ̇מת חרופה עלי סוא ואסתות מלוכה מן גיר כלף ואחתאג אלי אללחן ליפהם אלמעני מתל קֻומִי אֻו[רִי] קוּמִ֣י לעד ייי אוֹרִ֣י וישעי

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168 לאן] לאן לאן L1

**II.L.1.1.6.**

So, there are four cases of need (of complements): the need of the property (of a letter) for added elements in order for it to be an autonomous utterance, the need of a letter for another letter, the need of (a combination of) letters for vowels—these three are necessarily interdependent—and the need of (combinations of) letters and vowels for accents, not in all circumstances but in certain cases. For this reason I have presented the section on letters first, then I have presented second the section on vowels and I have presented third the section on accents, according to this order of obligatory complementarity.

**II.L.1.1.7.**

Now, meaning is not expressed by a letter alone and so the Hebrew grammarians have called a 'letter particle' a 'functional particle', since a functional particle does not express meaning in relation to itself but expresses meaning in relation to something else. This terminology (i.e. 'functional particle' rather than 'letter') is appropriate because אֶל consists of two letters, and likewise כִּי, מִן, אַךְ, עִם and similar cases. When some letters are combined with each other, unwritten letters are concealed between written letters. The main case of this are the vowels in words such as שָׁם, בָּם, עָם, יָד, שָׁם. In each of these words a letter *ʾalef* is hidden, which is one of the soft letters. When some letters are combined and a vowel occurs with them, a letter is not hidden between them, as in כִּי, בוֹ, מִי, בִּי, in which another letter is not hidden between the two (written) letters, as a *yod* is hidden between the *kaf* and *nun* in נֶגֶב כִּנֲרוֹת 'south of Chinneroth' (Josh. 11.2). There are many cases of this, but I have cited here one example.

**II.L.1.1.6.**

פצאר ארבעה אפתקאראת אפתקאר אלכאציה אלי אלזואיד לתסתקל פי אללפט̇ ואפתקאר חרף אלי חרף ואפתקאר אלחרוף אלי אלמלוך הדה תלתה לא בד מן חאגה בעצ̇הא אלי בעץ̇ ואפתקאר אלחרו[ף] (L1:8v) ואלמלוך אלי אלאלחאן לא עלי כל וגה בל פי בעץ̇ אלמואצ̇ע ולהדא געלת מקאלת אלחרוף מתקדמה פי אלאול ותנית במקאלה אלמלוך ותלת מקאלה אלאלחאן עלי תרתיב אלאפתקאר ואלחאגה

**II.L.1.1.7.**

פאדן אלחרף וחדה לא יפאד מנה מעני ועלי הדא אלוגה סמא אלדקדוקיין <אלחרף כאדמא> מן חית אן אלכאדם וחדה לא יפיד מעני פי נפסה בל יפיד מעני פי גירה והדה אלתסמיה תגוז לאן אֶל חרפאן וכדלך כִּי ומִן ואַךְ ועִם ומא שאכל דלך ואלחרוף פיהא מא אדא אנצ̇ם בעצ̇הא אלי בעץ̇ אנכתמת חרוף גיר מכתובה בין אלחרוף אלמכתובה ואלאצל פי דלך אלמלוך כקולך שָׁם בם עם יד שׂם פקד אנכתם פי כל לפט̇ה חרף אלף והו מן חרוף אללין ופי אלחרוף מא אדא אנצ̇מת וחצל מעהמא מלך לא ינכתם בינהמא חרף ככ̇ כִי בוֹ מִי בִי אלדי מא כפי בין אלחרפין חרף סואהמא כמא כפי ואנכתם פי נֶגֶב כְּנָרוֹת אליוד בין אלכאף ואלנון ואמתאל דלך כתיר ואנמא אורדת באנמודגא

184 אלחרף כאדמא] אלכאדם חרפא L1

### II.L.1.2. Section (concerning the Inventory of Letters)

The traditional inventory of letters consists of twenty-two basic letters. To the basic letters are added five letters, which are called ‘straight’, namely דםןףץ. To the basic letters are added six letters, namely בגדכפת. The Tiberians add to these six letters the letter *resh*, making it (i.e. the group of non-basic letters) בגדכפרת, so that the total comes to thirty-four with the *resh* of the Tiberians. It is said that there are some who attribute a particular feature to *zayin* and call it *zāy makrūkh*. I have not, however, been able to identify their purpose in using the term *makrūkh*, in order for me to be able to describe it, as I shall describe the purpose of the Tiberians (in the use of this term *makrūkh*) with regard to the *resh*.

### II.L.1.3. Chapter concerning the Place (of Articulation) of the Letters

#### II.L.1.3.1.

Know that according to the traditional inventory (of letters) there are five groups in five places (of articulation). These are אהחע, גיכרק, דטלנת, זסצש, בומף.

#### II.L.1.3.2.

The letters אהחע have a single place of articulation. This is the throat and the root of the tongue. The Tiberians call it the ‘root of the tongue’ and the ‘place of swallowing’. This is the first place of articulation in the mouth. For this reason they are the lightest letters, as a group or individually. The meaning of their ‘lightness’ is that they never take *dagesh*. It has been said that *dagesh* is placed in *ʾalef* in some specific places in Scripture, namely in the following four cases: וַיָּבִ֫יאּוּ ל֣וֹ אֶת־הַמִּנְחָ֑ה ‘and they brought him the present’ (Gen. 43.26), וַיָּבִ֨יאּוּ לָ֜נוּ כְּיַד־אֱלֹהֵ֨ינוּ ‘and they brought to us by the hand of our God’ (Ezra 8.18), מִמּוֹשְׁבֹ֨תֵיכֶ֜ם תָּבִ֣יאּוּ ׀ ‘from your dwellings you shall bring’

**II.L.1.2. פצל**

אלקבלה כׄבׄ חרף אצולא וינצׄאף אלי אלאצול כמסה חרוף והי אלתי יסמונהא פשוטות והם דׄסׄןׄףׄץׄ ינצׄאף אלי אלאצול איצׄא סתה חרוף והי בׄגׄדׄכׄפׄתׄ אלטבראניין יזידו עלי הדה אלסתה אחרף חרף ריש ויגעלונהא בׄגׄדׄכׄפׄרׄתׄ פיציר אלכל ארבעה (L1:9r) ותלאתין בריש אלטבראניין וקד קיל אן תם מן יגעל ללזאי חכם ויסמיה זאי מכרוך ומא וקפת להם עלי גרץׄ פי קולהם מכרוך פכנת אדכרה כמא אדכר גרץׄ אלטבראניין פי אלריש

**II.L.1.3. באב פי מחל אלחרוף**

**II.L.1.3.1.**
אעלם אלקבלה תגי כמסה אקסאם פי כמסה מחאל והי אׄהׄחׄעׄ
גׄיׄכׄרׄקׄ דׄטׄלׄנׄתׄ זׄסׄצׄשׄ בׄוׄמׄףׄ

**II.L.1.3.2.**
אׄהׄחׄעׄ מחלהא מחל ואחד והו אלחלקום ואצל אללסאן ויסמונה אלטבראניין עקר הלשון ובית הבליעה והו אול מחל פי אלפם ולדלך צארת אכף אלחרוף מגמועה או מפתרקה ומעני אלכפה פיהא הו אן לא ידכלהא דגש בתה וקד קיל אן אלדגש ידכל פי אלאלף פי מואצׄע מכצוצה מן אלמקרא והו ארבעה ויָביאו לו את המנחה ויביאו לנו כיד אלהינו ממֹשבותיכם תביאו ושפו

(Lev. 23.17), וְשֻׁפּ֥וּ עַצְמוֹתָ֗יו לֹ֣א רֻאֽוּ ‘and his bones, which were not seen, are laid bare’ (Job 33.21). I shall clarify this in response to those who have adduced this as a counterargument. *Ḥet* and *ʿayin* do not take *dagesh* in any circumstances. As for *he*, it takes what could be thought to be *dagesh*, but it is not what it is thought to be. This is because *dagesh* makes a letter heavy and *rafe* makes it soft, as in גַּג ‘roof’.

**II.L.1.3.3.**

The quality of the letter is uttered with *dagesh* and with *rafe* in the realization of its phonetic property. *Dagesh* is placed on a letter at the beginning of a word, the middle and the end. This is not the case with *he*, since it is in a place (of articulation) in which heaviness is not possible. This is because heaviness is for the purpose of a pressure[4] that is applied to the place of articulation, so that the letter is made heavy. The tongue root and the place of swallowing are not a place that permits closure or contraction, or what resembles this, like the lips, which can be closed and receive pressure,[5] so that from them can be heard בִּי and בִֿי, as will be described below. It is only at the end of a word that a point occurs in it (i.e. *he*) in order to cause its property to appear and distinguish it from places where it does not appear, such as חֶרְפָּ֤ה וּגְדוּפָה֙ ‘a reproach and a taunt’ (Ezek. 5.15), in which the quality of the *he* is not pronounced, rather it is pronounced with the pronunciation of *ʾalef*. This differs from the other letters in which *dagesh* is permitted, such as *kaf* and *pe*, which have two types of pronunciation that both necessarily entail the articulation of the property of the letter.

[4] Literally: leaning. | [5] Literally: leaned upon.

עצמותיו לא ראֵו וסאביין אלכלאם פיה פי גואב מן עארץׄ בה ואלחית ואלעין פלא ידכלהא דגש לא בוגה ולא בסבב ואלהא קד ידכלה בטׄן אלטׄאן אנה דגש וליס דלך כמא טׄן לאן אלדגש יתקל אלחרף ואלרפי ירכיה ככׄ גָג̄

**II.L.1.3.3.**

קד כרג טעם אלחרף פי אלדגש ואלרפי למעני כאציתה ואלדגש ידכל פי אלחרף פי אול אלכלאם ואלוצט ואלאכר ואלהא מא הדא חאלה לאנה פי מחל לא יצח פיה אלתקל לאן אלתקל ללאעתמאד יפעל פי אלמחל פיתקל דלך אלחרף ועקר הלשון (L1:9v) ובית הבליעה מא המא מחל יגוז פיה אלטבק או אלצׄם או מא מאתל דלך כאלשפתין אלתי יצח אן תטבקא ויעתמד עליהא ויסמע מנהא בִּי ובִ̄י עלי מא ידכר מן בעד ואנמא יגי פי אואכר אלכלאם פקט פיה נקטה פתצׄהר כאציתה ותבינה פי מא לא יטׄהר חַרְפָּהֿ וגֿדוּפָּהֿ אלדין מא כרג ללהא טעאם בל כרג בכרוג אלאלף אלדי הו מכאלף לבקיה אלחרוף אלדי יצח פיהמא אלדגש כאלכאף ואלפא אלדי עלי חאלתין פי אלנטק לא בד מן אללפטׄ פי כאציה אלחרף

**II.L.1.3.4.**

As for *he*, this is not pronounced at the end of a word unless it has a dot in it. This is is not called *dagesh* but rather ‘appearance’. Do you not see that if a dot appears in it, (it is) at the end of a word, as in אֲהָ֫הּ ‘Oh!’ (Josh. 7.7), מַחֲצִיתָ֫הּ ‘half of it’ (Lev. 6.13). It may occur in the middle of a word and be pronounced in the way that it is pronounced when it has a dot in it, as in תַּהְכְּרוּ־לִֽי ‘you wrong me’ (Job 19.3), מַהְבִּלִ֫ים ‘filling with vain hopes’ (Jer. 23.16), וְהַֽהַרְאֵ֫ל ‘and the altar hearth’ (Ezek. 43.15). So it is clear to you that this (dot) denotes appearance and is not *dagesh*, for *dagesh* is a strengthening that occurs in the letter after the articulation of its property: מֶ֫לֶךְ ‘king’, מַלּ֫וּךְ ‘Malluch’ (1 Chron. 6.29), הֶרְאֲךָ֫ ‘He made you see’ (Deut. 4.36), הַרְּאִיתֶם֫ ‘Have you seen?’ (1 Sam. 10.24). It is clear, therefore, from this that the dot in *he* is to indicate the appearance of the property (of the letter) and not for making it heavy.

**II.L.1.3.5.**

It follows from all of this that these four letters are never made heavy since they are in the first place of articulation from which speech is sounded. If it were said: Surely the *dagesh* may be inserted in some of the four letters of this place, namely in the *ʾalef* in the four passages that you have just mentioned, and this disproves your statement that *dagesh* is not put on the letters of this place of articulation, the response would be: If one examines carefully the so-called *dagesh* in the *ʾalef* in these four passages, one sees that it is not *dagesh*, since the speaker strives

**II.L.1.3.4.**

ואלהא לא ילפט̇ בה פי אכר אללפט̇ אלא אן יכון פיה נקטה פלא יסמא הדא דגש בל ט̇הור אלי תרי אנה אדא חצל פיה אלנקטה פי אכר אלכלמה כק̇ אֲהָהּ מַחֲצִיתָהּ וקד יכון פי וצט אלכלאם מן גיר הדא אלנקטה וילפט̇ בה עלי מא ילפט̇ בה ופיה אלנקטה כק̇ תַּהְכְּרוּ לִי מַהְבְלִים וְהַהַרְאֵל פקד באן לך אן הדא ט̇הור לא דגש לאן אלדגש הו תשדיד יחצל פי אלחרף בעד <אלנטק> בכאציתה כק̇ מֶלֶךְ מלוך הַרְאֶךְ הַרִאיתם פבאן בדלך אן אלנקטה פי אלהא אנמא הי לט̇הור אלכאציה לא ללתתקיל

**II.L.1.3.5.**

פחצל מן הדה אלגמלה אן הדה אלד̇ חרוף לא תתקל בתה למא כאנת אול מחל יתצות מנה אלכלאם פאן קיל אוליס <קד ידכל> אלדגש פי בעץ̇ אלחרוף אלד̇ חרוף הדא אלמחל והו (L1:10r) אלאלף פי אלארבע מואצ̇ע אלתי דכרתהא אנפא פקד כסר מא דכרתה מן אן הדא אלמחל לא ידכל חרופה דגש קיל אן הדה אלארבע מואצ̇ע אדא תאמל אלדגש אלמדכור פי אלאלף ירי אנה לא בדגש מן חית אן אלמתכלם מתכלף

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233 אלנטק] אלנקט L1   236 קד...237 ידכל] קד L1

to introduce heaviness into it but it is not made heavy. Surely you see how heaviness occurs in *bet*, *kaf* and other letters without effort and strengthening takes place. This is not the case with *ʾalef*. If one examines carefully whether *ʾalef* is made heavy in this way, one will see that it is not made heavy. Rather it is as if the speaker is taking it out of a pit, unlike the other letters in which *dagesh* is permitted. It is said that the reason for the impossibility of heaviness in the letters of this place of articulation is that it is the first of the places of articulation, and the more the articulation progresses upwards from place to place, the more heaviness can be applied.

**II.L.1.3.6.**

From the second of the places of articulation are heard גֿ and ךֿ *rafe*. This is the third of the tongue that is adjacent to the pharynx, opposite the (soft) palate. In fact this is not a primary place of articulation, but it functions like one. This is because when *gimel* and *kaf* have *dagesh*, their place of articulation is the middle of the tongue, in its wide part. The primary places of articulation are five in number. The third of the tongue that is the place of articulation of the two (aforementioned) letters with *rafe*, I mean גֿ and ךֿ, is secondary. So, the total number of places of articulation are six, five primary and one secondary. The middle of the tongue is the place of articulation of five letters, namely גיכרק.

**II.L.1.3.7.**

From the third place of articulation are heard five letters, namely דטלנת. This is the extremity of the tongue in combination with the flesh of the teeth. If you press gently, you hear from it דֿ and תֿ *rafe*. If you press with force, you hear from it דּ

לאדכאל אלתתקיל פיה והו לא יתקל אלי תרי כיף יגי אלתתקיל פי אלבי ואלכאף וגירהמא בגיר תכ̇לף ויקע אלתשדיד מוקעה וליס כדלך אלאלף ואן תאמל דלך פי תתקיל אלאלף עלם אנה לא יתקל ואנמא אלמתכלם כאנה יכרגה מן גב מכאלפא למא יצח פיה אלדגש מן סאיר אלחרוף וקיל אן אלעלה פי סקוט אלתתקיל ען חרוף הדא אלמחל לאנה אול אלמחאל וכל מא צעד מן מחל אלי מחל יתקל

**II.L.1.3.6.**

ואלמחל אלתאני מן מחאל אלחרוף יסמע מנה ג̇ ד̇ אלמרפיין והו תלת אללסאן ממא ילי אלחלקום קדאם אלחנך והדא אלמחל ליס הו אלאצל פי אלחקיקה בל יגרי מגראה לאן מתי צאר אלגמאל ואלכאף מדגושה כאן מחלהמא וסט אללסאן בערצ̇ה פאצול אלמחאל כמסה ותלת אללסאן אלדי הו מחל אלחרפין אלמרפיין אעני ג̇ ד̇ הוא פר[ע] פגמלה אלמחאל סתה כמסה אצול וואח[ד] (L1:10v) פרע פוסט אללסאן מחל לכמסה חרוף והי ג̇יכ̇רק

**II.L.1.3.7.**

ואלמחל אלתאלת <יסמע מנה> כמסה חרוף והי ד̇ט̇ל̇נ̇ת̇ והו טרף אללסאן מע לחם אלאסנאן ואן אלצקת ברפק סמעת מנהא ד̄ ת̄ אלמרפיין ואן אלצקת בקוה סמעת מנה ד ת

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257 יסמע מנה] יסמע L1

and תּ with *dagesh*. This differs from the second place of articulation, which is divided into two places (when the letters are pronounced) with *dagesh* and *rafe* respectively, namely the (back) third of the tongue and its middle. *Dalet* and *tav* are not like that, rather their place of articulation does not change, whether they have *dagesh* or *rafe*. *Dagesh* denotes pressing with force and *rafe* (pressing) lightly.

**II.L.1.3.8.**

The fourth place of articulation is the teeth, from which are heard four letters, namely זסצש. In this place of articulation the letters are not divided into light and heavy as in the preceding places of articulation. Know that when you pronounce (the word) שִׁין, you pronounce three letters from three different places of articulation, the *shin* from the teeth, the *yod* from the middle of the tongue, in its wide part, and the *nun* from the extremity of the tongue and the flesh of the teeth. If you taste a letter (by pronouncing it) in its place of articulation, you will taste its property.

**II.L.1.3.9.**

The fifth place of articulation is the lips, which is that of the four letters בומף. If you close the lips with force, בּ and פּ with *dagesh* are heard. If you close them gently and lightly, you hear from them בֿ and ףֿ with *rafe*. This place of articulation is like the place of articulation of דטלנת, where two letters with *dagesh* and two letters with *rafe* are heard.

אלמדגושין והד̇א מכ̇אלף ללמחל אלב̇ אלדי אנקסם אלי מחלין ענד אלדגש ואלרפה המא תלת אללסאן ווסטה ואלדאל ואלתו ליס המא כדלך בל מחלהמא לא יתגייר לא פי אלדגש ולא פי אלרפי ואנמא אלדגש לאלאלצאק באלקוה ואלרפי באלכפה

**II.L.1.3.8.**

ואלמחל אלראבע הו <אלאסנאן> יסמע מנה ד̇ חרוף והי ז̇ס̇צ̇ש̇ והדא אלמחל לא ינקסם פיה אלחרף אלי כפה ותקל מתל אלמחאל אלדי תקדמתה ואעלם אנך אדא לפט̇ת בשין פקד לפט̇ת בג̇ חרוף מן תלת מחאל מתגאירה פאלשין מן אלאסנאן ואליוד מן [וסט] אללסאן בערצ̇ה ואלנון מן טרף אללסאן ולחם אלאסנאן פאדא דקת אלחרף פי מחלה אנמא דקת מנה כאציתה

**II.L.1.3.9.**

ואלמחל אלה̇ הו אלשפתין מחל ארבע חרוף ב̇ו̇מ̇ף̇ פאן אטבק[ת] אלשפתין בקוה סמע מנהמא (L1:11r) בּ פּ אלמדגושין ואן אטבקתהמא ברפק וכפה סמעת מנהמא ב̄ ו ף̄ אלמרפיין פקד צאר הדא אלמחל מתל מחל ד̇ט̇ל̇נ̇ת̇ אלדי יסמע מנה חרפין מדגושין וחרפין מרפיין

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264 אלאסנאן] אן אלאנסאן L1

## II.L.1.4. Section (concerning some General Issues relating to Letters)

**II.L.1.4.1.**

If somebody were to say ‘What is the value of knowing the places of articulation of the letters?’, the response to him would be as follows. If somebody asked and said ‘What is language?’, I would say: It consists of expressions that its original speakers[6] established by convention among themselves to make their intentions understood to one another. It needs to be known that before this they established by convention specific letters in various places of articulation, from which the expressions could be constructed. They were, therefore, the foundations of the expressions. Through knowledge of the places of articulation the thinking of the establishers (of the language) can become clear, in that they taught that the meaning that one intends can be fully expressed with twenty-two letters, but cannot be fully expressed with less than this. They took them from five basic places of articulation, and one secondary place of articulation, as has been explained. Either it was the case that only the aforementioned letters could have been produced from each place of articulation or they knew that letters other than those mentioned could have been produced from the places of articulation but they had no need of more than the ones they proclaimed. It seems that it will be impossible for us to know the truth with regard to this issue.

**II.L.1.4.2.**

[ ] not true. Since it is of this nature, knowledge [ ] than ignorance. Since the knowledge of the technique of reading is explicated through (its analysis into) letters, vowels, accents and

6 Literally: the masters.

## II.L.1.4. פצל

**II.L.1.4.1.**

אן קאל מא אלפאידה פי מערפה מחאל אלחרוף קיל לה לו סאל סאיל פקאל מא אללגה לקלת הי עבאראת תואצ̇ע עליהא ארבאבהא ליפהמו אגראצ̇הם לבעצ̇הם בעץ̇ ויחתאג אן יעלם קבל הדא אנהם תואצ̇עו עלי חרוף מכצוצה פי מחאל מכתלפה אלתי מנהא יצח אן תנבני אלעבאראת פהי ללעבאראת אצולא פאתצ̇ח בעלם אלמחאל חכמה אלמתואצ̇עין באן עלמו אן אלגרץ̇ יכמל באתני ועשרין חרפא ובדון דלך לא יכמל ואתכדוהא מן כמסה מחאל אצול ומחל ואחד פרע עלי מא מצ̇א ביאנה פאמא אן יכון לא יצח מן כל מחל גיר מא דכר מן אלחרוף או עלמו אן יצח מן אלמחאל גיר אלחרוף אלמדכ[ורה] גיר אן לם תדעהם אלחאגה אלי אכתר ממא דכרוה וקריב אנא תתעדר מערפה צחה דלך

**II.L.1.4.2.**

(L1:11v) [ ] לא יצח פמא כאן הדא סבילה אלעלם [ ]ל מן אלגהל ולמא כאן עלם צנאעה אלקראה יעלל בחרוף ומלוך

the *shewa*, it is appropriate for the necessary description to be made of each of these, in order for me to demonstrate the superiority of this language over other languages, since it is ‘a pure language’ (Zeph. 3.9). Given that among the letters of Hebrew there are several letters, as explained above, that are ‘straight’, there are בגדכפת letters, and *dagesh* and *rafe* in all remaining letters except אהחע, if one were to say ‘What is the function of *dagesh* and *rafe*?’, the response would be as follows. There is clearly a function. This includes the change of meaning by means of *dagesh* and *rafe*, for example שְׂמַ֬ח בָּח֣וּר ‘Rejoice, oh young man!’ (Ecc. 11.9), which is an intransitive verb, since the *mem* in it is light. If it has *dagesh*, the verb becomes transitive, as in שַׂ֭מֵּחַ נֶ֣פֶשׁ עַבְדֶּ֑ךָ ‘Gladden the soul of your servant’ (Psa. 86.4). Likewise הַכֹּהֵ֣ן הַֽמְטַהֵ֔ר ‘the priest who cleanses’ (Lev. 14.11) is a transitive agent, whereas אֵ֛ת הָאִ֥ישׁ הַמִּטַּהֵ֖ר ‘the man who is cleansed’ (Lev. 14.11) is a reflexive agent, and similar cases.

**II.L.1.4.3.**

The people of the language used words from one place of articulation, such as אֲהָהּ ‘Oh!’, which is from the place of articulation of אהחע, דֶּלֶת from the place of articulation of דטלנת, מִפּ֣וֹ וּמִפֹּ֔ו ‘on this side and that’ (Ezek. 40.34) from the place of articulation of בומף, and similar cases.

GAP

**II.L.1.4.4.**

[…] The third category is what interchanges in one place of articulation, for example בִּזַּ֥ר ‘He scattered’ (Psa. 68.31), which is said to be like פִּזַּ֤ר׀ נָתַ֬ן לָאֶבְיוֹנִ֗ים ‘He has distributed, he has given to the poor’ (Psa. 112.9). The place of articulation of *bet* and *pe* is the lips. (Another case) is וְשׁוֹבַ֛ךְ ‘and Shobach’ (2 Sam. 10.16) and וְשׁוֹפַ֛ךְ ‘and Shopach’ (1 Chron. 19.16), which are said to be

ואלחאן [ו]שוא חסן אן ידכר פי כל ואחד מא יסנח ויתגה פיה לאביין שרף הדה אללגה עלי סאיר אללגאת לאנהא שפה ברורה ואדא פי חרוף אלעבראני כאנת חרוף עדה עלי מא דכר פי מא תקדם מן אלפשוטות ובׄגׄדׄכׄפׄתׄ ואלדגש ואלרפי אלדי פי בקיה אלחרוף סוא אׄהׄחׄעׄ פאן קיל פמא אלפאידה פי אלדגש ואלרפי קיל לה לא בד מן פאידה מן דלך תגייר אל[מע]נא באלדגש ואלרפי מתל שְׂמַח בָחוּר אלדי הו פעל פי אלנפס לכון אלמים גאת פיה כפיפה ואדא גאת מדגושה תעדי אלפעל ככׄ שַׂמֵחַ נפש עבדך וכדלך הכהן הַמְטַהֵר פאעל באלגיר את האיש הַמִּטַּהֵר פאעל בנפסה ואמתאל דלך

**II.L.1.4.3.**

ואסתעמל אהל אללגה אלכלאם מן אלמחל אלואחד מתל אַהָה מן מחל אׄהׄחׄעׄ ומן מחל דׄטׄלׄנׄתׄ דלת ומן מחל בׄוׄמׄףׄ מפו ומפו ומא מאתל

GAP

**II.L.1.4.4.**

(L3:14r) אלארוזי ואלקסם אלתאלת מא ינבדל פי מחל ואחד מתל בזר אלדי יקאל אנה מתל פזר נתן לאביונים אלבא ואלפא מחלהמא אלשפתאן ושובך ושופך אלדי יקאל אנהמא אסם

the same name; and likewise הִטְעֽוּ אֶת־עַמִּ֥י ‘They have misled my people’ (Ezek. 13.10)—הִתְע֣וּ ‘(God) caused (me) to wander’ (Gen. 20.13), ע֤וּשׁוּ ‘Hasten!’ (Joel 4.11)—חושו.

**II.L.1.4.5.**

The fourth category is what interchanges from different places of articulation, which includes scribal error and ciphers, for *dalet* and *resh* (which are sometimes confused by scribal error) are from two different places of articulation and the cipher (consisting of the interchange of) *bet* and *shin* is from two different places of articulation. Interchanges that are from a single place of articulation do not fall into this category, as will be explained in a separate chapter (see §II.L.1.5.).

**II.L.1.4.6.**

Take note that it is said that some letters are contracted. Their contraction is indicated by two things: meaning and grammar. Some letters are augments at the beginning, middle or end of a word.

**II.L.1.4.7.**

An example of an augmented letter at the beginning of a word is הַשְּׁלִשִׁי֙ לְאַבְשָׁל֣וֹם ‘The third is Absalom’ (1 Chron. 3.2). It is said that the presence of this *lamed* has no meaning and the meaning would remain the same if it were elided. An example of an augmented letter in the middle of a word is יְלָדִ֣ים אֲשֶׁ֣ר אֵֽין־בָּהֶ֣ם כָּל־מְא֗וּם ‘youths without blemish’ (Dan. 1.4). It is said that the *ʾalef* in מְא֗וּם is augmented, without any function, because the lexical class of ‘blemish’ does not contain a root letter *ʾalef*. Examples of an augmented letter at the end of a word are אֹסְרִ֤י לַגֶּ֙פֶן֙ עִירֹ֔ה ‘binding his foal to the vine’ (Gen. 49.11)

ואחד וכדלך הטעו את עמי התעו עושו חושו

**II.L.1.4.5.**
ואלקסם אלראבע מא ינבדל מן מחאל מתגאירה והו יעם אלתצחיף ואלגמטריא לאן אלדאל ואלריש מן מחלין גירין ואלגמטריא אלבא ואלשין מן מחלין <מתגאירין> פמא כאן מן מחל ואחד אנבדאלה לא ידכל פי הדא אלקסם עלי מא סיגי ביאנה פי באב מפרד

**II.L.1.4.6.**
ואעלם אן קד קיל אן פי אלחרוף איצׄא מא יכתצר וידל עלי אכתצארה שיין אלמעני ואללגה ופיהא מא יגי זאיד פי אול אללפטׄ ואלוסט ואלאכר

**II.L.1.4.7.**
פאלזאיד פי אול אללפטׄ השלישי לאבשלום קיל אן הדא אללמאד לא מעני לתבותה בל ינ[תטׄ]ם אלמעני בחדפה ואלזאיד פי וסט אלכלאם קיל מתל ילדים אשר אין בהם כל מאום פקיל אן אלאלף פי מאום זאיד לא פאידה פיה לאן לגה אלעיב מא פיה אלף אצלי ואלזאיד פי אכר אללפטׄ בקולה (L3:14v)

310 מתגאירין] מתגאורין L3   317 ינ[תטׄ]ם] ינתטׄם L1:3r

and בְּנ֣וֹ בְעֹ֔ר ‘the son of Beor’ (Num. 24.3), where the *vav* of בְּנ֣וֹ has no meaning, and likewise the *yod* in אֹסְרִ֫י, since it is not a pronoun, and similar cases.

**II.L.1.4.8.**

As for cases of the contraction of a letter that is reflected by the meaning, it is said to include examples such as אֲשֶׁר֩ נְתָנְךָ֨ יְהוָ֤ה׀ הַיּוֹם֙ בְּיָ֔ד ‘for the Lord gave you into my hand today’ (1 Sam. 26.23), where it is said that a *yod* has been contracted in יָד, and its virtual form is בְּיָדִי, since it does not say בְּיַד, in which it would be conjoined to an underlying noun, but rather it is pronounced in its disjoined form, which is with *qameṣ*. Likewise in אַתָּ֥ה זֶ֖ה בְּנִ֣י עֵשָׂ֑ו ‘Are you my son Esau?’ (Gen. 27.24), it is said that a *he* has been contracted in אַתָּה, since it does not have the function of a declarative but rather of an interrogative, and its virtual form is הַאַתָּה. Likewise in תַּרְקִ֣יעַ עִ֭מּוֹ לִשְׁחָקִ֑ים ‘Can you like him spread out the skies?’ (Job 37.18) an interrogative *he* is contracted in it and its virtual form is הֲתַרְקִיעַ עִמּוֹ, so that it would be like הֲתָשִׂ֣ים אַגְמֹ֣ן ‘Can you put a rope?’ (Job 40.26), הַֽתְשַׁלַּ֣ח בְּרָקִ֣ים ‘Can you send forth lightnings’ (Job 38.35).

**II.L.1.4.9.**

As for cases of the contraction of a letter that is reflected by the grammar, these include examples like בְּכַשִּׁ֥יל וְ֝כֵילַפֹּ֗ת ‘with hatchets and hammers’ (Psa. 74.6), since it should according to rule have been וּבְכֵילַפּוֹת, so that it would be like אַכֶּ֥ה בְדָוִ֖ד וּבַקִּ֑יר ‘I will pin David to the wall’ (1 Sam. 18.11), בַּחֲמוֹרִ֨ים וּבַגְּמַלִּ֜ים וּבַפְּרָדִ֣ים׀ וּבַבָּקָ֗ר ‘on asses and on camels and on mules and on oxen’ (1 Chron. 12.41), for this is the rule for the co-ordination of two nouns after one another with the particle *bet*.

אסרי לגפן עירֹה בנו בעור אלדי אלואו פי בנו לא מעני לה וכדלך אליוד פי אסרי לאנה ליס צֹמיר ומא מאתל דלך

**II.L.1.4.8.**

ואמא מא יכתצר ויתבתה אלמעני פקיל אנה מתל אשר נתנך ייי היום ביד אלדי יקאל אנה מכתצר יוד פי יד ותקדירה בידי לאנה מא קאל ביַד פיכון מצֹאף אלי אסם מצֹמר בל אכרגה בכרוג אלקטע והו אלקָמֵץ וכדלך אתה זה בני עשו קיל אן אלהא מן אתה מכתצר לאן ליסה מוצֹע כבר בל אסתפהאם ותקדירה האתה זה ומתלה תרקיע עמו לשחקים הא אלתמה מכתצר מנה ותקדירה התרקיע עמו ליגרי מגרי התשים אגֹמ התשלח ברקים

**II.L.1.4.9.**

ואמא מא יכתצר פתתבתה אללגה הו כקוֹ בכשיל וכלפות אד כאן חקה אן יגי ובכלפות ליגרי מגרי אכה בדוד ובקיר בחמורים ובגמלים ובפרדים ובבקר אד דלך מן חק אלעטף פי אלאסמין אלמעטוף אחדהמא עלי אלאכר בחרף בא

### II.L.1.4.10.

When two identical letters succeed one another at the end of one word and the beginning of another and the two words are linked by an accent, if the reader is not careful to pronounce them both, one of them would become coalesced and they would be pronounced as one letter. The reader must pronounce them clearly in order to distinguish, for example, the two *ṣade*s in וַיָּ֣צֵֽץ צִ֔יץ 'it produced blossoms' (Num. 17.23), to ensure that the two *nuns* are pronounced in בֵּאדַ֫יִן נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר֙ 'then Nebuchadnezzar' (Dan. 3.13, etc.) and to ensure that the two *mems* are pronounced in כַּאֲשֶׁ֨ר הָיִ֤יתִי עִם־מֹשֶׁה֙ 'as I was with Moses' (Josh. 1.5, etc.), and similar cases of two letters succeeding each other in this manner.

## II.L.1.5. Chapter on the Interchange of Letters

### II.L.1.5.1.

It is said that among the letters are those that interchange from the same place of articulation, so that, for example, *ʾalef* interchanges with *he* in a case such as וְאַחֲרֵיכֵ֣ן אֶתְחַבַּר֙ 'after this he joined' (2 Chron. 20.35). This is in place of הִתְחַבֵּר, because the *ʾalef* in אֶתְחַבַּר֙ is not the *ʾalef* of the first person future, but is the expression of the narrator. Likewise יֶ֥תֶר הֶאָמ֖וֹן 'the rest of the multitude' (Jer. 52.15), which is in place of הֶהָמוֹן, כִּֽי־שֶׁ֛קֶר אַתָּ֥ה דֹבֵ֖ר אֶל־יִשְׁמָעֵֽאל 'for you are speaking falsely of Ishmael' (Jer. 40.16), which is in place of עַל־יִשְׁמָעֵאל, and similar cases.

### II.L.1.5.2.

From the place of articulation of בּוֹמֵף, *bet* interchanges with *pe*, as in יִפזוֹר—יִבְזוֹר 'he scatters', פִּזַּר—בִּזַּר 'he scattered'. As for what interchanges from two different places of articulation, this is like the interchange of *bet* with *he* in וְהִכִּ֣יתָ בַצּ֗וּר 'you shall strike the rock' (Exod. 17.6), which is said to be in place of הַצּוּר.

**II.L.1.4.10.**

ואלחרוף אדא תראדף מנהא חרפאן פי אכר אלכלמה ואחד ופי אול אלאכרי אכר מתלה וכאנתא אלכלמתאן מכתלטתין באללחן אן לם (L3:15r) יגעל אלקאר באלה אליהמא ליטׄהרהמא ואלא אנדגם אלואחד וכרגא מכרג חרף ואחד פיגב אן יטׄהרהמא אלקאר ליבין אלצאדין פי וַיָּצֵץ ציץ ויכון אלנונין פי באדין נבוכדנצאר ויכרג אלמאמין פי כאשר הייתי עם משה ומא מאתל דלך מן אלחרפין אלמתראדפה עלי הדא אלוגה

## II.L.1.5. באב פי אבדאל אלחרוף

**II.L.1.5.1.**

קיל אן פי אלחרוף מא ינבדל מן מחל ואחד פינבדל אלאלף באלהא כקו̇ ואחריכן אתחבר פהו מקאם התחבר לאן ליס אלאלף פי אתחבר אלף אלאסתקבאל אלדי ללמתכלם בל הו קול אלמכבר וכדלך יתר האמון מקאם ההמון כי שקר אתה דובר אל ישמעאל הו מקאם על ישמעאל ומא מאתל דלך

**II.L.1.5.2.**

ומן מחל בֹוֹמְֿ ינבדל אלבא באלפא כקו̇ יבזור יפזוֹר בִּזַּר פִּזַּר ואמא מא ינבדל מן מחאל מתגאירה מתל מא ינבדל אלבא באלהא בכֿ והכית בצור קיל אנה מקאם הצור

**II.L.1.5.3.**

*Gimel* interchanges with *kaf* in סוּגָה בַּשּׁוֹשַׁנִּים 'encircled with lilies' (Cant. 7.3), which is said to be סוּכָה, from יָשָׁר מִמְּסוּכָה 'the upright from a thorn hedge' (Micah 7.4), since it does not make sense for it to be derived from נָסֹגוּ אָחוֹר 'they shall be turned back' (Isa. 42.17, etc.). These two letters are from the same place of articulation. *Mem* interchanges with *gimel*, as in נְגַשְׁשָׁה כַעִוְרִים 'We grope like the blind' (Isa. 59.10), which is in place of נְמַשְׁשָׁה, as in יְמַשְׁשׁוּ־חֹשֶׁךְ 'They grope in the dark' (Job 12.25).

**II.L.1.5.4.**

*Dalet* interchanges with *zayin*, as in דְּהַב—זָהָב. (The interchange of) *resh* with *dalet* is due to scribal error, as in רְעוּאֵל 'Reuel'—דְּעוּאֵל 'Deuel', רִיפַת 'Riphath' (Gen. 10.3)—דִיפַת 'Diphath' (1 Chron. 1.6), רוֹדָנִים 'Rodanim' (1 Chron. 1.7)—דֹדָנִים 'Dodanim' (Gen. 10.4).

**II.L.1.5.5.**

*He* interchanges with *ʾalef*, as in אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרָה לְעַמְּךָ 'what is to befall your people' (Dan. 10.14), in which (the *ʾalef* of the *qere*) is in place of *he*. A similar case is כַּד הַקֶּמַח לֹא תִכְלָה 'The jar of meal shall not be spent' (1 Kings 17.14). This is from the same place of articulation. A case of interchange from two places of articulation is עֹצֶה עֵינָיו 'he who closes his eyes' (Prov. 16.30), in place of עוֹצֵם from וַיְעַצֵּם 'and he closed' (Isa. 29.10).

**II.L.1.5.6.**

*Vav* interchanges with *bet*, as in שָׁכְרוּ וְלֹא־יַיִן נָעוּ וְלֹא שֵׁכָר 'They were drunk, but not with wine; they staggered, but not with strong drink' (Isa. 29.9), in place of בְּלֹא יַיִן, בְּלֹא שֵׁכָר. This is from the same place of articulation. From two places of articulation it interchanges with *ʾalef*, as in מִפְּנֵי גֵוָה 'because of pride' (Jer. 13.17), which is said to be in place of גֵאָה.

**II.L.1.5.3.**

אלגמאל ינבדל בכאף סוגה בשושנים קיל אנה סוכה מן ישר ממסוכה אד כאן לא מעני להא מן נסוגו אחור והדין אלחרפין מן מחל ואחד ואלמאם (L3:15v) ינבדל בגמאל כקֹ נגששה כעורים מקאם נמששה כקוֹ ימששו חשך

**II.L.1.5.4.**

אלדאל ינבדל בזאי כקוֹ זהב דהב ואלריש באלדאל מן אלתצחיף רעואל דעואל ריפת דיפת רודָנים דודָנים

**II.L.1.5.5.**

אלהא ינבדל באלף כקוֹ אשר יקרא לעמך מקאם הא וכדלך כד הקמח לא תכלה והדא מן מחל ואחד ומן מחלין עוצה עיניו מקאם עוצם מן ויעצם

**II.L.1.5.6.**

אלואו ינבדל בבא כקֹ שכרו ולא יין נעו ולא שכר מקאם בלא יין בלא שכר והדא מן מחל ואחד ומן מחלין ינבדל באלף כקֹ מפני גֵוָה קיל אנה מקאם גֵאָה

**II.L.1.5.7.**

*Zayin* interchanges in the same place of articulation with *ṣade*, as in יַעֲלֹ֫ז 'he rejoices'—יַעֲלֹ֫ץ 'he rejoices', מִזְעָ֑ר 'a little' (Isa. 10.25, etc.)—מִצְעָ֑ר 'a little one' (Gen. 19.20, etc.). An example from two places of articulation is קִפֹּ֑ד 'hedgehog' (Isa. 14.23, etc.)—קִפּ֗וֹז 'hedgehog' (Isa. 23.15).

**II.L.1.5.8.**

*Ḥet* interchanges with *resh*, as in מֶ֝֗לֶךְ עַֽל־כָּל־בְּנֵי־שָֽׁחַץ 'He is king over all creeping creatures' (Job 41.26), which is in place of שֶׁ֫רֶץ. These are from two places of articulation.

**II.L.1.5.9.**

*Ṭet* interchanges in the same place of articulation with *tav*, as in פְּסַנְתֵּ֫רִין֩ 'harp' (Dan. 3.5, etc.)—פְּסַנְטֵרִ֗ין'harp' (Dan. 3.7).

**II.L.1.5.10.**

It is said that *yod* interchanges with *ʾalef*, as in וּמִמַּעֲמָדְךָ֖ יֶהֶרְסֶֽךָ 'and I shall cast you down from your station' (Isa. 22.19), in place of אֶהֶרְסֶךָ, which corresponds to the meaning of וַהֲדַפְתִּ֖יךָ 'and I shall cast you down' (Isa. 22.19).

**II.L.1.5.11.**

It is said that *kaf* interchangs with *bet*, as in כְּאָכְלָם֙ מֵֽהַנָּזִ֔יד (2 Kings 4.40), which is in place of בְּאָכְלָם, so that its meaning is 'while they were eating (pottage)', since a comparison here is not relevant. A similar case כַּעֲל֣וֹת הַמִּנְחָ֔ה 'when bringing up the offering' (2 Kings 3.20), so that it is like בַעֲל֨וֹת הַלַּ֜הַב 'when the flame went up' (Jud. 13.20). This is from two places of articulation. A case from the same place of articulation is וַיְרַגֵּ֣ל בְּעַבְדְּךָ֔ 'He has slandered your servant' (2 Sam. 19.28), which is said to be in place of וַיְרַכֵּל, from לֹא־תֵלֵ֤ךְ רָכִיל֙ 'You shall not go as a slanderer' (Lev. 19.16).

**II.L.1.5.7.**

אלזאי ינבדל מן מחל ואחד בצדי יעלז יעלץ מזער מצער ומן מחלין קפוד קפוז

**II.L.1.5.8.**

אלחית ינבדל בריש כֿך מלך על כל בני שחץ אנה מקאם שרץ והמא מן מחלין

**II.L.1.5.9.**

אלטית ינבדל מן מחל ואחד בתָו פסנתרין פסנטרין

**II.L.1.5.10.**

אליוד קיל אנה ינבדל באלף כֿך וממעמדך יהרסך מקאם אהרסך ויואפק מעני והדפתיך

**II.L.1.5.11.**

אלכאף קיל אנה ינבדל בבא כֿך כאכלם מהנזיד הו מקאם באכלם ליכון מענאה ענד אכלהם (L3:16r) לאן אלתמתיל מא לה הונא מדכל ומתלה כעלות המנחה ליגרי מגרי בעלות הלהב והדא מן מחלין ומן מחל ואחד וירגל בעבדך קיל אנה מקאם וירכֵל מן לא תלך רכיל

**II.L.1.5.12.**

*Lamed* interchanges with *bet*, as in לְמִכְמָ֖שׂ יַפְקִ֥יד כֵּלָֽיו ‘At Michmash he stores his baggage’ (Isa. 10.28), in place of בְּמִכְמָשׂ. It is said that וְהָיָ֥ה כִֽי־יֶאְשַׁ֖ם לְאַחַ֣ת מֵאֵ֑לֶּה ‘when a man is guilty in any of these’ (Lev. 5.5) is in place of בְּאַחַת. These two are from two places of articulation. An example from one place of articulation is וְיַרְכָת֖וֹ עַל־צִידֹֽן ‘and his border shall be up to Sidon’ (Gen. 49.13), which is said to be in place of עַד־צִידוֹן.

**II.L.1.5.13.**

It is said that *mem* interchanges with *bet*, in the same place of articulation, in אָכֵ֛ן בָּגְדָ֥ה אִשָּׁ֖ה מֵרֵעָ֑הּ ‘Surely, (as) a wife is faithless against her husband’ (Jer. 3.20), in place of בְּרֵעָהּ.

**II.L.1.5.14.**

*Nun* interchanges with *mem* from two places of articulation, for example לַמְּלָכִ֑ים ‘to the kings’ (2 Chron. 1.12, etc.)—מְלָכִֽין ‘kings’ (Prov. 31.3), לְקֵ֥ץ הַיָּמִֽין ‘at the end of days’ (Dan. 12.13), the virtual form of which is הַיָּמִים.

**II.L.1.5.15.**

*Samekh* interchanges with *ṣade* in the same place of articulation, as in נָתְס֗וּ ‘they have broken’ (Job 30.13)—נָֽתְצ֞וּ ‘they broke’ (2 Kings 25.10, etc.). It is also said that יְקוֹסֵ֔ס ‘he will cut’ (Ezek. 17.9) is in place of יְקוֹצֵץ.

**II.L.1.5.16.**

It is said that *ʿayin* interchanges with *ḥet*, as in ע֥וּשׁוּ ‘hasten’ (Joel 4.11)—חוּשׁוּ.

**II.L.1.5.12.**

אללמאד ינבדל בבא מתל למכמש יפקיד כליו מכׄ במכמש וקאלו אן והיה כי יאשם לאחת מאלה אנה מקאם באחת והדין מן מחלין ומן מחל ואחד וירכתו על צידון קאלו אנה מקאם עד צידון

**II.L.1.5.13.**

ואלמים קיל אנה ינבדל בבֵא והו מן מחל ואחד אכן בגדה אשה מרעה מקאם ברעה

**II.L.1.5.14.**

אלנון ינבדל מן מחלין בְמֵים מתל למלכים מלכין קץ הימין תקדירה הימים

**II.L.1.5.15.**

אלסמאך ינבדל בצדי מן מחל ואחד נתסו נתצו וקיל אן יקוסס מקאם יקוצץ

**II.L.1.5.16.**

אלעין קיל אנה ינבדל בחית מתל עושו חושו

**II.L.1.5.17.**

*Pe* interchanges with *bet* from the same place of articulation in מָטָ֥ר סֹ֝חֵ֗ף 'sweeping rain' (Prov. 28.3), which is said to be in place of סוֹחֵב. Likewise it is said that נִסְחַ֣ף אַבִּירֶ֑יךָ 'Your warriors have been dragged away' (Jer. 46.15) is in place of נִסְחַב. An example from two places of articulation is said to be יְרוֹפָ֑פוּ 'they shake' (Job 26.11) in place of יְרוֹחֲפוּ from רָ֣חֲפ֔וּ 'they shake' (Jer. 23.9).

**II.L.1.5.18.**

It is said that *ṣade* interchanges with *samekh* in the same place of articulation, as in חֲמ֤וּץ בְּגָדִים֙ 'blood red of garments' (Isa. 63.1).

**II.L.1.5.19.**

It is said that *qof* interchanges with *kaf* in the same place of articulation, as in קוֹבַע 'helmet' (1 Sam. 13.38, etc.)—כּ֫וֹבַע 'helmet' (1 Sam. 17.5, etc.).

**II.L.1.5.20.**

It is said that *resh* interchanges with *kaf*, as in חַשְׁרַת־מַ֖יִם 'darkness of water' (2 Sam. 22.12)—חֶשְׁכַת־מַ֝֗יִם 'darkness of water' (Psa. 18.12).

**II.L.1.5.21.**

*Shin* interchanges with *samekh* in the same place of articulation in שְׁתֻ֥ם הָעָֽיִן 'shut of eye' (Num. 24.3, etc.), which is in place of סְתוּם from סְתֹ֥ם הַדְּבָרִ֛ים 'shut up the words' (Dan. 12.4). Its interpretation as 'placed' is not plausible. This is because שְׁתֻ֥ם is a conjoined passive participle. The disjoined form would be שָׁתֻם, like זָכוּר, שָׁמוּר, and its imperative would have to be שְׁתוֹם or שְׁתַם. This would lead to the conclusion that there is a root letter *mem* in the lexical class of 'placing', but this is not the case, because (we see from examples such as) שֹׁ֖ת שָׁ֥תוּ הַשָּֽׁעְרָה 'They

**II.L.1.5.17.**

אלפא ינבדל מן מחל ואחד בבא מטר סוחף קיל אנה מקאם סוחב וכדלך נסחף אביריך קיל אנה מקאם נסחב ומן מחלין קיל ירופפו מקאם ירוחפו מן רחפו

**II.L.1.5.18.**

אלצדי קיל אנה ינבדל בסמאך מן מחל ואחד מתל חמוץ בגדים

**II.L.1.5.19.**

אלקוף קיל אנה ינבדל (L3:16v) מן מחל ואחד בכף מתל קובע כובע

**II.L.1.5.20.**

אלריש קיל אנה ינבדל בכַּף מתל חשרת מים חשכת

**II.L.1.5.21.**

אלשין ינבדל מן מחל ואחד בסמאך והו שתום העין מכׄ סתום מן סתום הדברים ואלדי פסרה מגעול מא הו תפסיר קריב ודלך אן שתום מפעול מצׄאף ואלמכרת יכון שָׁתוּם מתל זָכור שָׁמור ויגב אן יכון אמרה שְׁתוֹם או שְׁתַם והדא יודי אלי אן יכון פי לגה אלאגעאל מים אצלי וליס אלאמר כדלך לאן קוׄ שׁת שָׁתו

placed (themselves) at the gate' (Isa. 22.7), שַׁתּ֥וּ בַשָּׁמַ֣יִם פִּיהֶ֑ם 'They set their mouths against the heavens' (Psa. 73.9), כֹּ֝ל שַׁ֣תָּה תַֽחַת־רַגְלָֽיו 'You have put everything under his feet' (Psa. 8.7), (that) all forms from the lexical class of 'placing' lack *mem*.

**II.L.1.5.22.**

It is said that *tav* interchanges with *ʾalef*, as in וַיִּ֤קַּח תִּרְזָה֙ וְאַלּ֔וֹן 'He took a cedar tree and an oak' (Isa. 44.14), which is in place of אַרְזָ֖ה 'cedar' (Zeph. 2.14). This is a short sample of the interchange of letters.

### II.L.1.6. Chapter concerning the Influence of the Four Letters *ʾalef, vav, yod* and *he*, I mean אוי״ה, on the Six Letters בג״ד כפ״ת

When one of these four is at the end of a word and the word is conjoined with what follows it by the accent, and the second word begins with one of the letters בג״ד כפ״ת, this letter is pronounced light with *rafe*, as in וְאֶקְחָ֨ה פַת־לֶ֜חֶם 'and I shall fetch a morsel of bread' (Gen. 18.5), כִּ֤י בְאַפָּם֙ 'for in their anger' (Gen. 49.6), א֣וֹ בְדֶ֜רֶךְ רְחֹקָ֗ה 'or on a far journey' (Num. 9.10), אֵ֣לֶּה בְנֵֽי־אֶפְרַיִם֮ 'These are the sons of Ephraim' (Num. 26.35), וּסְקַלְתּ֥וֹ בָאֲבָנִ֖ים 'and you shall stone him to death with stones' (Deut. 13.11), וַיְהִ֥י דְבַר־יְהוָ֖ה 'and the word of the Lord was' (1 Kings 17.2, etc.), and very many similar examples of what is not disjoined from the (preceding) accent. In every case where there is no disjunction from the (preceding) accent in this way, the בג״ד כפ״ת letters are light, with *rafe*.

### II.L.1.7. Section (on Deviations from the General Rule)

**II.L.1.7.1.**

The cases that deviate from what I have stated are nine exceptions to the rule concerning which there is, to my knowledge, no disagreement. I shall exclude from the discussion

השערה שתו בשמים פֿ כל שתה תחת רגֿ כל לגה אלאגעאל מא פיהא מֵים

**II.L.1.5.22.**
אלתָו קיל אנה ינבדל באלף בכֿ ויקח תרזה ואלון מקאם ארזה פהדא טרף מן אבתדאל אלחרוף באכתצאר

**II.L.1.6.** (L1:14r) **באב פי מא תותרה אלארבעה חרוף והי אלאלף ואלואו ואליוד ואלהא אעני אוֹיהֹ פי סתה חרוף בֿגֿדֿכֿפֿתֿ**
הדה אלדֹ אדא כאן אחדהא פי אכר כלמה וכאנת אלכלמה מצֿאפה אלי מא בעדהא באללחן וכאנת אלכלמה אלתאניה אולהא אחד חרוף בֿגֿדֿכֿפֿתֿ כרג דלך אלחרף מרפיא כפיפא ככֿ וְאַקְחָ֨ה פַּת־לֶ֜חֶם כִּ֣י בְּאַפָּ֑ם א֚וֹ בְּדֶ֤רֶךְ֙ רְחוֹקָ֔ה אֵ֣לֶּה בְּנֵֽי־אַפְרַ֔יִם֙ וּסְקַלְתָּ֥וֹ בָֽאֲבָנִ֖ים (L1:14v) וַֽיְהִ֥י דְּבַר־יְיָ֖ ואמתאל דלך כתיר גדא ממא לא ינפצל מן אללחן פכל מא לא ינפצל מן אללחן עלי הדא אלמנהאג תכון חרוף בֿגֿדֿכֿפֿתֿ מרפיה כפיפה

**II.L.1.7. פצל**

**II.L.1.7.1.**
אלדי כרג ען מא דכרת תסעה כואסר ממ[א ל]ם יכתלף פיהא עלי עלמי ואנא אפרד מא אכתלף פיה פי אלדכר דאך אן מא

cases concerning which there is disagreement. This is because when there is no disagreement about a case, the reader cannot change anything, but when disagreement has occurred concerning a case, the reader makes a choice. He reads whatever variant he wishes. Nobody who may wish to reject it is able to reject it, since he would be rejecting something concerning which there is disagreement, involving one (reading) and an alternative. He (the reader) may read the one reading or the two alternatives (i.e. with *dagesh* or *rafe*) interchangeably. So long as this is the situation, a rule cannot be fixed. A rule can only be fixed for something concerning which there are no disagreements. Cases concerning which there is no disagreement include, as far as I can see, the following nine exceptions to the rule: *ʾoghera, di-fsiq, di-dhḥiq, ʾathe me-raḥiq, mappiq he, mappiq vav, mappiq yod*, two identical letters, *bet* and *pe*.

**II.L.1.7.2.**

As for *ʾoghera*, this is the 'collection' of only seven words. People, however, often add to them what does not belong to them, and introduce variant readings with regard to them. What is contained in this exception to the rule are four words in the song וַיּ֥וֹשַׁע (Exod. 14.30, 'the Song of the Sea'). These are: גָּאֹ֣ה גָּאָ֔ה 'He has triumphed gloriously' (Exod. 15.1, 21), which Moses said, and the twin phrase that Miriam said, יִדְּמ֖וּ כָּאָ֑בֶן 'They are as still as a stone' (Exod. 15.16), מִֽי כָּמֹ֖כָה 'Who is like you?' (Exod. 15.11). In this song there is one word that one may think is analogous to these four, but it is not the case, rather there is disagreement concerning it. This is עַם־ז֣וּ גָּאָ֑לְתָּ 'the people whom you have redeemed' (Exod. 15.13). There are only these four in the song that belong to the exceptional group *ʾoghera*. In the

לם יכתלף פיה לא יקדר אלקאר יגייר מנה שיא ואלדי חצל פיה אלכלף אלקאר מכייר אי אלאכתלאף אראד קרי ולא יתסע למן ירד עליה אן ירד לאן ירד אלכלף אלואחד וכלאפה לה אן יקראה או יקרא אלכלאפין עלי סביל אלבדל פמא כאן הדא חאלה לא ינצֿבט בה אצלא ואנמא ינצֿבט מן אלאצול מא לם יקע פיה כלף פאלדי מא וקע פיה כלאף עלי טֿני הי הדה אלתסעה כואסר אוֹגֵּיֶרָ֗ה · דְּפָּסִ֗יק · דְּדחִ֗יק · אתא מרחק · מפקֿ הא · מפקֿ ואו · מפקֿ יוד · חרפין מתראדפין · באֿ ופא

**II.L.1.7.2.**

פאמא אלאוגירה פהי אלגאמעה לסבעה כלם פקט ואלנאס כתיר <מא> יצֿיפו עליהא מא ליס מנהא וידכלו פיהא אלכלף ואלדי פי הדה אלכאסרה ארבע לפטֿאת פי שירת ויושע והי (L1:15r) גָּאֹ֣ה גָּאָ֖ה אלדי קאלה משה וחבירו אלדי קאלתה מרים יִדְּמ֣וּ כָּאָ֑בֶן מִ֥י כָּמֹ֨כָה ופי אלשירה לפטֿה ואחדה ממא יטֿן אנהא תגרי מגרי אלדֿ וליס אלאמר כדלך בל הי כלף והי עַם֥ זוּ֖ גָּאָ֑לְתָּ וליס פי אלשירה מן כאסרה אוֹגֵּיֶרָה סוא הדה אלדֿ ואלארבע

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first four books there is nothing, except that there is what may be imagined belongs to the exceptional group, but it is not the case, rather there is disagreement concerning it, viz. וַיַּ֣עַשׂ יָרָבְעָ֣ם׀ חָ֠ג בַּחֹ֨דֶשׁ הַשְּׁמִינִ֜י בַּחֲמִשָּׁה־עָשָׂ֤ר ‘and Jeroboam appointed a feast in the eighth month on the fifteenth (day)’ (1 Kings 12.32). There is disagreement concerning the *bet* in בַּחֲמִשָּׁ֤ה. In Isaiah there is one word from the *ʾoghera* group, viz. וְשַׂמְתִּ֤י כַּֽדְכֹד֙ ‘and I shall make (your pinnacles) of agate’ (Isa. 54.12), in Jeremiah, viz. וְנִלְאֵ֥יתִי כַּלְכֵ֖ל ‘and I am weary of holding it in’ (Jer. 20.9) and in Daniel וְחָכְמָ֛ה כְּחָכְמַֽת־אֱלָהִ֖ין ‘and wisdom like wisdom of the gods’ (Dan. 5.11). These seven aforementioned cases are called *ʾoghera*. As for אֲדַרְגָּזְרַיָּ֣א גְדָ֠בְרַיָּ֠א דְּתָבְרַיָּ֣א ‘the counselors, the treasurers, the justices’ (Dan. 3.2, 3), סַבְּכָ֣א פְּסַנְתֵּרִ֗ין ‘trigon, harp’ (Dan. 3.5), they are cases of disagreement. I do not know for what reason this group of (seven) exceptional cases breaks the rule of the letters אוי״ה. I have only documented them by listening to the transmitters of the reading.

**II.L.1.7.3.**

The second type of case that breaks the rule is *di-fsiq* (i.e. ‘what is paused’). Whenever *paseq* comes between one of the letters אוי״ה and the letters בגדכפת, the letters אוי״ה have no influence, because they only have influence when there is nothing cutting (them off from what follows). The *paseq* cuts (them off) in a way and so this is the reason why the rule of אוי״ה is not observed, as in עָשׂ֥וּ׀ כָּלָ֖ה ‘they have done completely’ (Gen. 18.21), יוֹסֵ֨ף יְהוָ֤ה עַל־עַמּוֹ֙׀ כָּהֵם֙ ‘May the Lord add to his people (a hundred times as many) as them’ (1 Chron. 21.3). There is no exception at all to this type of case that breaks the rule. Whenever a *paseq* occurs, the rule of אוי״ה is broken.

אספאר אלאולה מא פיהא מנהא שי גיר אן פיהא מא יתוהם אנה מנהא וליס אלאמר כדלך בל הו כלף ויעש ירבעם| חג בחדש השמינִ֨י בֿחמשה עשר פאן אלבא פי בחמשה כלף ופי ישעיה מן אוגירה לפטֿה ואחדה והי ושַׂמְתִּ֫י כַּדְכֹ֗וד ופי ירמיה וְנִלְאֵ֥תִי כַּלְכֵּ֖ל ופי דניאל וחכמָה כּחכמת אלָהין פהדה אלסבעה אלדי תקדם דכרהא והי אלמסמאה אוֹגֵ֫ירָה ואמא מא כאן אדרגזריא גדבריא דתבריא <פסנתרין> פהו כלף ומא עלמת לאי עלה כסרת הדה אלכאסרה עלי שרט אלאֹוֹיֹהֹ ואנמא נאכדהא מן אהל אלקראה סמעא

**II.L.1.7.3.**

אלכאסרה אלבֿ דפסיק כל מא חצל אלפָסֵק בין חרף אלאֹוֹיֹהֹ ובין אחד חרוף בֿגֿדֿכֿפֿתֿ לם יכון ללאויה תאתיר לאן אנמא תותר אדא לם יכון מא יקטע ואלפסק קטע עלי וגה פצארת (L1:15v) הדה אלעלה לא יתבת מעהא שרט אלאֹוֹיֹהֹ ככֹ עָשׂוּ| כָּלָה יוסף ייי על עמו| כּהֵםֹ וליס עלי הדה אלכאסרה אסתתני בתֿה פכֿל מא חצל אלפסק כסר שרט אלאויה

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**II.L.1.7.4.**

The third type of case that breaks the rule is *di-dhḥiq* (i.e. 'what is compressed'). Know that this breaking of the rule consists of what is compressed with regard to the rule regarding them (i.e. the letters אוי̇ה̇), and that is why they say *di-dhḥiq*. The meaning of *di-dhḥiq* is that between the accent that is in the word containing one of the אוי̇ה̇ letters and a בגדכפת letter there is a vowel and this vowel is not dwelt upon or prolonged in pronunciation. On account of this compression (of the vowel) the rule of the אוי̇ה̇ is broken, as in וְאָעִ֣ידָה בָּ֔ם 'that I may call to witness against them' (Deut. 31.28), וְהָגִ֨יתָ בּ֜וֹ 'you shall meditate on it' (Josh. 1.8) and similar cases. The compression may occur in a word that does not have an accent but is a small word, as in מַה־תֹּאמַ֥ר 'whatever (your soul) says' (1 Sam. 20.4), זֶה־בְּנִ֣י 'This is my son' (1 Kings 3.23), מַה־בְּ֭רִי 'What, my son?' (Prov. 31.2), וּמַֽה־תַּעֲשֶׂ֖ה 'and what will you do?' (Josh. 7.9), and other cases. If it is said that this condition may hold for אוי̇ה̇ and בגדכפת but its effect does not come about, namely *dagesh*, as in אֲשֶׁ֣ר הוֹרַדְתֵּ֣נוּ ב֔וֹ 'through which you let us down' (Josh. 2.18), וְלֹא־הָ֨יָה בָ֥ם ע֛וֹד ר֖וּחַ 'and there was no longer any spirit in them' (Josh. 5.1), רְאֵה֙ נָתַ֣תִּי בְיָֽדְךָ֔ 'See, I have given into your hand' (Josh. 6.2), and the vowel that you mentioned in וְאָעִ֣ידָה בָּ֔ם and וְהָגִ֨יתָ בּ֜וֹ is present in הוֹרַדְתֵּ֣נוּ ב֔וֹ and *dagesh* does not occur in the *bet*, the response should be that the difference between what you mentioned (and the cases with compression) is that the vowel that is after the accent in וְאָעִ֣ידָה בָּ֔ם does not have an exhalation of breath but is very compressed, but the vowel in הוֹרַדְתֵּ֣נוּ ב֔וֹ is not compressed in the joining (of the words) but is expansive with an exhalation breath, and is like other (long) vowels, or nearly so. Whoever examines this closely will perceive the difference.

**II.L.1.7.4.**

אלכאסרה אלג̇ דדחיק אעלם אן הדה אלכאסרה אלצ̇יק אלשרט פיהא והו קולהם דדחיק ומעני דדחיק הו אן יכון בין אלטעם אלדי פי אלכלמה אלדי פיהא חרף אלאׄויׄהׄ ובין חרף בׄגׄדׄ כׄפׄתׄ מלך ואחד ולא יתאנא ולא יטול פי אלנטק בדלך אלמלך פלאגל הדא אלצ̇יק כסר שרט אלאויה כקולה וְאָעִ֣ידָ֣ה בָּ֔ם והַ֣גִ֣יתָ בּ֖וֹ ומא מאתל דלך וקד יכון אלצ̇יק חאצל פי כלמה לא יכון פיהא טעם גיר אנה תכון כלמה צגירה כקׄ מֶה־תֹּאמֶר זֶה־בְּנִי מֶה־בְּרִי וּמֶה תַּעֲשֶׂה אלי גיר דלךׄ פאן קאל אן הדה אלעלה קד תחצל פי אׄויׄהׄ ובׄגׄדׄכׄפׄתׄ ולא יחצל מעלולהא והו אלדגש כקׄ אשר הורדֵּ֣תָנוּ בּ֣וֹ ולֹא־הָ֣יָה בָּ֣ם עוֹד֙ רוח ראה נָתַ֣תִּי בְיָדְךָ֨ פאלמלך אלדי דכרתה פי ואעידה בם והגִיתָ בּו תאבת פי הורדתֵנו בו ולם יחצל אלדגש פי אלבא קיל לה אלפרק בין מא דכרתה הו אן אלמלך אלדי בעד אלטעם (L1:16r) פי ואעידה בם ליס פיה תנפס בל הו מצ̇יק גדא וליס כדלך אלמלך אלדי פי הורדתנו בו מצ̇יק פי אלנסק בל הו מוסע בתנפס יגרי מגרי מלך אכר או קריב מנה ומן תאמל דלך וגד אלפרק

**II.L.1.7.5.**

The fourth type of case that breaks the rule is *ʾathe me-raḥiq*. This is the opposite of the previous type of case that breaks the rule, because the latter (i.e. *ʾathe me-raḥiq*) is on account of what is far and the former (i.e. *di-dhḥiq*) is on account of what is near, and so there is a fundamental difference between them. This (i.e. *ʾathe me-raḥiq*) arises from the fact that due to the distance of the accent (from the preceding conjunctive accent), one comes upon it (the accent) like a ballista and so the בּגּדּכּפּתּ letter is pronounced with *dagesh*, as in הְ֥וּא יִבְנֶה־בַּ֖יִת לִשְׁמִ֑י ‘He will build a house for my name’ (2 Sam. 7.13), הֲלַמֵּתִ֥ים תַּעֲשֶׂה־פֶּ֑לֶא ‘Do you work wonders for the dead?’ (Psa. 88.11), סֽוּרָ֥ה שְׁבָה־פֹּ֖ה ‘Turn aside, sit here’ (Ruth 4.1). Also (included in this category) are cases in which there is no (conjunctive) accent, so (such cases must be considered) to have a virtual (conjunctive) accent before them in order to conform to (cases such as) הְ֥וּא יִבְנֶה־בַּ֖יִת לִשְׁמִ֑י, as in וְאֵלְכָ֥ה אֵלֶ֖יהָ וְאֶדְרְשָׁה־בָּ֑הּ ‘that I may go to her and inquire of her’ (1 Sam. 28.7), and similar cases.

**II.L.1.7.6.**

The fifth type of case that breaks the rule is *mappiq he*. The meaning of their term *mappiq he* is the (consonantal) pronunciation of the *he*. It is derived from וְדָתָ֣א נֶפְקַ֔ת ‘and the decree went forth’ (Dan. 2.13). This is because when the *he* is pronounced at the end of a word, the rule of the אוֹיֹהּ letters is broken, as in מַחֲצִיתָ֣הּ בַּבֹּ֔קֶר ‘half of it in the morning’ (Lev. 6.13), וְכָל־אֲשֶׁ֣ר אִתָּ֣הּ בַּבַּ֔יִת ‘and all those who are with her in the house’ (Josh. 6.17), וְלַ֛הּ גַּפִּ֥ין אַרְבַּ֖ע ‘and it has four wings’ (Dan. 7.6), and similar cases. There are no exceptions to this breaking of the rule at all.

**II.L.1.7.7.**

The sixth type of case that breaks the rule is *mappiq vav*. This is because every *vav* at the end of a word is pronounced according

**II.L.1.7.5.**

אלכאסרה אלדׄ אתא מרחיק הדה באלעכׄס מן אלכאסרה אלמתקדמה להא לאן הדה למא בעד ותיך למא קרב פשתאן בינהמא והו אן כמא יבעד אללחן ינצב עליה כׄאלמנגניק פידגש חרף בׄגׄדׄ כׄפׄתׄ ככׄ הֻוּא יִבְנֶה־בַּ֫יִת לִשְׁמִי הלמֵתֻ֫ים תַּעֲשֶׂה֣־פֶּ֫לֶא סֻוּרָה שְׁבָ֫ה־פֹּה ומא לם יכון פיה אללחן פהו בתקדיר לחן קבלה ליגרי מגרי הֻוא יבנה־בַּ֫יִת ואלכה אליה וְאַדְרְשָׁ֫ה־בָּה ומתל דלךׄ

**II.L.1.7.6.**

אלכאסרה אלכאמסה מפק הא מעני קולהם מפק הא הו כרוג אלהא ישתק מן ודתא נפ֫קתׄ והו אן אלהא אדא טׄהר וכרג פי אכר אלכלמה כסר שרט אלאׄוׄיׄהׄ כקולׄ מַחֲצִיתָ֣הּ בַּבֹּ֫קֶר וכל אֲשֶׁר אִתָּ֣הּ בַּבָּ֫יִת וְלַהּ גַּפֻּ֫ין ארבע ומא מאתל דלךׄ ומא עלי הדה אלכאסרה שיא מסתתנא בתה

**II.L.1.7.7.**

אלכאסרה אלסאדסה מפק ואו ודאךׄ אן כל ואו פי אכר כלמה

to the Palestinians as a *bet rafe*, which breaks the rule of the אוֹיֹהּ, as in חֲצֵרֹתָ֣יו בִּתְהִלָּ֑ה ‘(enter) his courts with praise’ (Psa. 100.4), אֵלָ֥יו פִּֽי־קָרָ֑אתִי ‘I cried aloud to him’ (Psa. 66.17), and similar cases. There are two words that are exceptions to this breaking of the rule, namely וְנָטָ֥ה עָלֶ֛יהָ קַו־תֹ֖הוּ ‘He will stretch the line of confusion over it’ (Isa. 34.11), וְק֤וֹל הָמוֹן֙ שָׁלֵ֣ו בָ֔הּ ‘The sound of a carefree multitude was with her’ (Ezek. 23.42). Although according to the principle of breaking the rule what follows the two *vavs* should have had *dagesh*, this has not occurred.

**II.L.1.7.8.**

The seventh type of case that breaks the rule is *mappiq yod*. Take note that whenever *yod* occurs at the end of a word and the next word begins with one of the בגדכפת letters, and *ḥireq* or *ṣere* occurs under the letter before the *yod*, then the rule of אוֹיֹהּ is observed, as in לִבְנִ֥י בְנ֛וֹ ‘Libni his son’ (1 Chron. 6.14), כִּ֚י בְקָקוּם ‘for they have stripped them’ (Nahum 2.3), שָׂרֵ֣י פְלִשְׁתִּ֑ים ‘the princes of the Philistines’ (1 Sam. 18.30), and similar cases. If vowels that are different from the aforementioned occur under the aforementioned letter, the *yod* is strengthened and the rule of אוֹיֹהּ is not observed, as in אוּלַ֖י תַּעֲרֽוֹצִי ‘perhaps you may inspire terror’ (Isa. 47.12), יְאָתְרַ֥י בְּנֽוֹ ‘Jeatherai his son’ (1 Chron. 6.6), כִּ֥י מִי־ג֣וֹי גָּד֔וֹל ‘for what great nation’ (Deut. 4.7), לְגוֹי־גָּד֥וֹל וְעָצ֖וּם ‘into a great and mighty nation’ (Num. 14.12), סִינַ֥י בַּקֹּֽדֶשׁ ‘Sinai into the holy place’ (Psa. 68.18). One word is an exception to this breaking of the rule, namely אֲדֹנָ֥י בָ֗ם ‘the Lord in them’ (Psa. 68.18). What should have occurred according to the principle of the breaking of the rule is אֲדֹנָ֥י בָּ֗ם with *dagesh*, because there is no *ḥireq* or *ṣere* on the letter before the *yod*. I do not know for what reason it contravenes the breaking of the rule.

יכרג עלי ראי אלשאמיין בבא מרפי הו יכסר שרט אלאֹוֹיֹהֹ כֹק חַצֵרוֹתָיו בִּתְהִלָּה אֵלָיו פִּי (L1:16v) קראתי ואמתאלהמא ואלדי יסתתנא עלי הדה אלכאסרה לפטֹתין והמא ונטה עליה קַו תֹּהוּ וקול הָמוֹן שָׁלֵו בָּהּ פאן כאן יגב עלי אצל אלכאסרה אן יגי מא בעד אלואוין מדגושא ולם יגי כדלך

**II.L.1.7.8.**

אלכאסרה אלסאבעה מפק יוד אעלם אן כל יוד פי אכר כלמה ואול אלאכרי מן חרוף בֹגֹדֹכֹפֹתֹ ותחת אלחרף אלדי קבל אליוד חֶרֶק וא צֵרִי פאן שרט אלאֹוֹיֹהֹ יתבת פיה כֹק לִבְנֵי בָּנוּ כִּי בְּקִקוּם שָׁרֵי פְּלִשְׁתִּים ומתֹ דֹ פאן צאר תחת אלחרף אלמדכור סוי אלמלכֹין אלמדכורין אשתד אליוד ולם יתבת שרט אלאֹוֹיֹהֹ כֹק אוּלַי תַּעֲרוֹצִי יאתרִי בְּנוֹ וּמִי גּוֹי גָּדוֹל לגוי גָדול ועצום סינַי בַּקֹּדֶשׁ יסתתני עלי הדה אלכאסרה בלפטֹה ואחדה והו אדֹנָי בֹּם וקד יגב אן תגי עלי מקתצֹא אלכאסרה אדנָי בם דגש לאן ליס תחת אלחרף אלדי קבל אליוד נקטה ולא נקטתין ומא עלמת לאי עלה גא מכאלף ללכאסרה

**II.L.1.7.9.**

The eighth type of case that breaks the rule is the succession of two letters. If two *bet*s or *kaf*s, but not the remaining בֿגֿדֿכֿפֿתֿ letters, succeed one another and under the first of them there is a *shewa*, then the rule of אֹוָיֹהֿ is broken, as in וַיְהִ֣י בְּבוֹאָ֗הּ 'and when she came' (Josh. 15.18), וַתִּתְפְּשֵׂ֥הוּ בְּבִגְד֛וֹ 'and she caught him by his garment' (Gen. 39.12), הֲלֹ֖א כְּכַרְכְּמִ֣ישׁ 'Is it not like Carchemish?' (Isa. 10.9), and other cases. If a vowel occurs under the first of the two instead of *shewa*, the rule of אֹוָיֹהֿ is observed, as in וְה֕וּא אִשָּׁ֥ה בִבְתוּלֶ֖יהָ 'And he (shall take) a wife in her virginity' (Lev. 21.13), אֲזַ֨לוּ בִבְהִ֤ילוּ 'They went in haste' (Ezra 4.23), and similar cases.

**II.L.1.7.10.**

The ninth type of case that breaks the rule is *bet* and *pe*. The statement concerning them is similar to the statement regarding the preceding type of case that breaks the rule, without there being any disagreement. This is that when *bet* is followed by *pe* and *shewa* is below the *bet*, the rule of אֹוָיֹהֿ is broken, as in וְאִכָּבְדָ֣ה בְּפַרְעֹ֗ה 'and I will get glory over Pharaoh' (Exod. 14.4), וּדְבָרַ֛י אֲשֶׁר־שַׂ֥מְתִּי בְּפִ֖יךָ 'and my words which I have put in your mouth' (Isa. 59.21), and similar cases. If a vowel occcurs instead of *shewa*, then the rule of אֹוָיֹהֿ is observed, as in אַל־יֵ֣רֶא בִפְלַגּ֑וֹת 'He will not look upon the rivers' (Job 20.17). I do not know any exception to this breaking of the rule.

**II.L.1.7.11.**

Take note that Ben Naftali, and perhaps some of those who preceded him, had a particular opinion about the *dagesh* of seven cases of *kaf* after וַיְהִי, namely וַיְהִ֞י כִשְׁמֹ֨עַ אֲדֹנָ֜יו 'when his master heard' (Gen. 39.19), וַיְהִ֥י כְשָׁמְע֖וֹ 'and when he heard' (Gen.

**II.L.1.7.9.**

אלכאסרה אלתאמנה חרפין מתראדפין כל באאין וכ̄אפ̄ין תראדפא אלואחד בעד אלאכר מן דון <בקיה חרוף> בׄגׄדׄכׄפׄתׄ וכאן תחת אלאול מנהא שוא כסר שרט אלאׄוׄיׄהׄ מתל ויהי בבואה ותתפשהו בבגדו הלא ככרכמיש אלי גיר דלךׄ פאן כאן תחת אלאול מנהמא מא עוׄק (L1:17r) מן אלשוא מלך תבת שרט אלאׄוׄיׄהׄ ככׄ והוא אשה בבׄתוליה אזל׳ בבׄהילו ומא שאכל דלךׄ

**II.L.1.7.10.**

אלכאסרה אלתאסעה בא ופא אלכלאם פיהא כׄאלכלאם פי אלכאסרה אלתי קבלהא מן גיר כלף והו אן כל בא ובעדהא פא אדא כאן תחת אלבא שוא כסר שרט אלאׄוׄיׄהׄ כקוׄל ואכבדה בפרעה וּדְבָרַי אֲשֶׁר־שַׂמְתִּי בְּפִיךָ ואמתאלהא פאן צאר עוׄק אלשוא מלך תבת שרט אלאויה ככׄ אל ירא בׄפלגות ומא ערפת עלי הדה אלכאסרה מסתתני

**II.L.1.7.11.**

ואעלם אן בן נפתלי ולעל מן תקדמה קד ראי ראיה פי דגש זׄ

כאפאת בעד ויהי והי כשמׄע אדׄ כשמעו כראות כראותו

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39.15), וַיְהִי֙ כִרְא֤וֹת ‘and when (the king) saw’ (Esther 5.2), וַיְהִי֙ כִרְאוֹת֨וֹ ‘and when he saw’ (Jud. 11.35), וַיְהִי֙ כְהוֹצִיאָ֤ם ‘and when they brought (them) out’ (Gen. 18.17), וַיְהִ֣י כְמָלְכ֗וֹ ‘when he became king’ (1 Kings 15.29), וַיְהִ֨י כַאֲשֶׁר־תַּ֜מּוּ ‘and when they had perished’ (Deut. 2.16).[7] According to him, each of the seven cases of *kaf* that occurs after וַיְהִי in Scripture has *dagesh*. This is known from his codices. Others, however, pronounce these *rafe*. I do not know for what reason Ben Naftali pronounced them with *dagesh*, for those who pronounce them *rafe* follow the principle of the influence of the soft אוי״ה letters on the בגדכפת letters. The reader, therefore, has two options. Either to read with the reading of Ben Naftali, in which case he must read all forms that he (Ben Naftali) reads, whether they be good readings or difficult readings, or to read with the reading of Ben Asher, which also is authoritative. If somebody reads what he deems to be the best reading of this one and of that one, he would (read) without any rule, because he deviates from the rationale of each of them.

### II.L.1.8. Section (on Further General Issues Relating to אוי״ה)

#### II.L.1.8.1.

Take note that the criterion of the (rule of) the אוי״ה letters and the בגדכפת letters should be based on the pronunciation and not on the writing. This is demonstrated in וַיַּ֥רְא בָּלָ֖ק ‘and Balak saw’ (Num. 22.2). The word וַיַּ֥רְא ends in *ʾalef*, one of the אוי״ה letters, and (the next word) begins with *bet*, one of the בגדכפת letters, but this letter is not pronounced *rafe*, despite the *ʾalef* being adjacent to the *bet* and their being linked by the accent. The *bet* of בָּלָ֖ק occurs with *dagesh*, since the end of וַיַּ֥רְא (in pronunci-

[7] The fuller citation וַיְהִ֨י כַאֲשֶׁר־תַּ֜מּוּ as opposed to simply וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר in the text of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* is given in *Kitāb al-Khilaf* (ed. Lipschütz, 1965, 19).

כּהוציאם כּמלכו כּאשר ענדה אן כל ויהי פי אלמקרא יג̇י בעדה אחד הדה אלז̇ כּאפאת אנהא תגי כלהא מדגושה ודלך מערוף מן מצאחפה וגירה ירפיהא ומא ערפת לאי עלה דגשהא בן נפתלי לאן מן רפאהא משא עלי אלאצל אלמוצ̇וע פי תאתיר א̇ו̇י̇ה̇ אלרפי לחרוף ב̇ג̇ד̇כ̇פ̇ת̇ פאלקאר אדן עלי אחד אמרין אמא אן יקרא קראה בן נפתלי פילזמה אן יקרא גמיע מא יקראה מן מסתחסנאת (L1:17v) ומסתתקלאת ואמא אן יקרא קראה בן אשר ודלך איצ̇א חכמה ואמא מן קרא מסתחסנאת הדא והדא פאנה יבקא בלא שרט לאנה יכרג ען עלה הדא והדא

**II.L.1.8. פצל**

**II.L.1.8.1.**

אעלם אן אלמעול פי א̇ו̇י̇ה̇ וב̇ג̇ד̇כ̇פ̇ת̇ עלי אללפט̇ לא עלי אלכט יביין דלך אן וירא בּלק אכר וירא אלף מן אויה ואולה בא מן ב̇ג̇ד̇כ̇פ̇ת̇ ולם יגי אלחרף רפי מע אסתנאד אלאלף אלי אלבא ואכתלאטהמא באללחן ואנמא גא אלבא מן בלק מדגוש לאן מחט ויקרא אלריש לא אלאלף פצאר אלמעול עלי אללפט̇ לא

ation) is the *resh* not the *ʾalef*, and the criterion is the pronunciation not the writing. An opposite case is וְעָשִׂ֖יתָ בַדֵּ֣י ‘and you will make poles of’ (Exod. 25.13). The last letter of the word וְעָשִׂ֖יתָ is *tav*, but the *bet* is *rafe*. The reason for this is that when *tav* has *qameṣ*, it is pronounced with two letters, and if you were to write וְעָשִׂיתָה in full orthography, it would have *he*. So the criterion is the pronunciation. The other cases of the breaking of the rule are also based on this principle, since this is the principle that forms the basis for the rule of אוי״ה and בגד״כפת. Surely you see that in וַעֲבָדֶ֖יךָ בָּ֥אוּ ‘and your servants have come’ (Gen. 42.10) the *bet* occurs with *dagesh* on account of the breaking of the rule known as *di-dhḥiq*.

**II.L.1.8.2.**

Perhaps somebody may ask why the letters אוי״ה have caused what is after them to be *rafe* in accordance with the preceding discussion. The response could be that this is because these four letters are the letters of softness and prolongation, as has been stated by Yaḥyā ibn Dāʾūd the Maghribī, the author of the *Book of Prolongation and Softness*, and letters that come after them that are not one of the letters of softness become soft due to their proximity. It may also be said that this is a custom adopted by the people of the language for a good reason known to them, and the knowledge of this has been transmitted by us and we read what we have received from the people of the language, and we should not abandon it until the people of the language come and we know the function of what they adopted as their convention. So whoever does not read according to the rule of אוי״ה and בגד״כפת is reading incorrectly. Blessed is He who knows secrets (cf. Psa. 44.22).

עלי אלכט ובאלעכׄס מן דלך וְעָשִׂיתָ בַּדֵּי אכר לפטׄה ועשית תו וגא אלבא מרפי ואלעלה פי דלך אן אלתו אדא כאן מקמוצא כרג בחרפין ולו כתבת ועשיתה מלא כאן בהא פאלמעול אדן עלי אללפטׄ וסאיר אלכואסר תתם פי הדא אלאצל לאנה הו אלאצל אלדי בני ללאׄוׄיׄהׄ ובׄגׄדׄכׄפׄתׄ אלי תרי אלי קׄ ועבְדִיך בְּאו אן אלבא [יגי] מדגוש מן כאסרה דדחיק

**II.L.1.8.2.**

ולעל סאיל [יס]אל על חרוף אׄוׄיׄהׄ לם כאנת תרפי מא בעדהא עלי אלשרוח אלמדכורה פימכן אן יגאב אן למא כאנת הדה אלארבע חרוף הי חרוף אללין ואלמד עלי מא דכרה יחיי בן דאווד אלמגרבי (L1:18r) צאחב כתאב אלמד ואללין פילין מא בעדהא ממא ליס הו מן חרוף אללין ללמגאורה וימכן אן יקאל איצׄא אן הדא אצטלאח אצטלחו עליה אהל אללגה לגרץׄ צחיח עלמוה הם ואנשד ענא נחן עלמה פנחן נקרא מא תסלמנאה מן אהל אללגה ולא נכליה אלי אן יגו אהל אללגה פנעלם פאידה מא אצטלחו עליה פמן קרא בגיר שרט אׄוׄיׄהׄ ובׄגׄדׄכׄפׄתׄ כאן לאחנא וברוך יוֹדֵע תעלומות

## II.L.1.9. Chapter concerning Letters that Occur in Three Grades

**II.L.1.9.1.**

Take note that just as there are among the letters those that when they are adjacent to another letter, the latter makes them light with *rafe*, likewise among the letters are those that occur in three grades with regard to heaviness and lightness. The first grade is lightening. The second is the normal *dagesh*. The third is the major *dagesh*. This includes the *tav*.

**II.L.1.9.2.**

Take note that the *tav*, unlike the other letters, may occur *rafe*, as in וְתָאֵ֥י הַשַּׁ֖עַר ‘and rooms of the gate’ (Ezek. 40.10); it may occur with *dagesh*, as in תַּ֣חַת הַנְּח֜שֶׁת ‘instead of bronze’ (Isa. 60.17), תּוֹרֵ֤י זָהָב֙ ‘ornaments of gold’ (Cant. 1.11); and it may occur with major *dagesh*. The latter includes three *tav*s: וַיְשִׂימֶ֤הָ תֵּל־עוֹלָם֙ ‘He made it an eternal heap of ruins’ (Josh. 8.28), וְאֶת־בָּ֨תָּ֜יו וְגַנְזַכָּ֗יו ‘and its houses and its treasuries’ (1 Chron. 28.11), וְגֻבְרַיָּ֣א אִלֵּךְ֘ תְּלָ֣תֵּה֒וֹן ‘and these three men’ (Dan. 3.23). I do not know anybody who differs (in reading) with regard to these three *tav*s. As for the form בָּתִּים, there were differences (of reading) with regard to it.

**II.L.1.9.3.**

Take note that the Tiberians said that they have a *resh* that is not read (in the same way) by anybody else. It is likely that the climate of their town caused this. It has the same status as the *tav* in the word בָּתִּים according to the view of Ben Naftali, who gives it a grade in between two grades.

**II.L.1.9.4.**

The *resh* in their tradition is associated with specific letters, just as the בּגּדּכּפּתּ are associated with the letters אוֹיֹהֿ, namely דזצתטס

## II.L.1.9. באב פי מא יגׄי מן אלחרוף עלי תלאתה מנאזל

**II.L.1.9.1.**
אעלם אן כמא גא פי אלחרוף מא אדא אסתנד אלי גירה כפפה ורפאה כדאך פי אלחרוף מא יגׄי עלי גׄ מנאזל פי אלתקל ואלכפה אלמנזלה אלאׄ אלתכפיף אלבׄ אלדגש אלמעהוד אלגׄ אלדגש אלכביר והו אלתו

**II.L.1.9.2.**
אעלם אן אלתו מן דון סאיר אלחרוף קד יגי רפי כׄך ותָּאֵי השער וקד יגי דגש כקוׄל תחת הנחשת תורי זהב וקד יגי דגש כביר והו תלת תאואת וַיְשִׂימֶ֫הָ תֵּל־עוֹלָ֫ם ובתיו וגנזכיו וגבריֵא אלך תְּלָ֣תֵּהוֹן פהדה אלתלת תאואת מא ערפת מן כאלף פיהא ואמא לשון בתים פקד אכתלף (L1:18v) פיה

**II.L.1.9.3.**
ואעלם אן אלטבראניין דכרו אן להם ריש לא יקראה גירהם ואלקריב אן הוא בלדהם יפעלה והו יגרי מגרי אלתו פי לשון בתים עלי ראי בן נפתלי אלדי יגעלה הו מנזלה בין מנזלתין

**II.L.1.9.4.**
פאלריש ענדהם לה חרוף מכצוצה כמא לבׄגׄדׄכׄפׄתׄ חרוף אׄוׄיׄהׄ והי דׄזׄצׄתׄטׄסׄ לׄןׄ פהדה אלחׄ חרוף חרפאן מנהא תעמל קבל

and לֺן. Two of these eight letters operate both before the *resh* and after it, namely לֺן, and the six other letters before the *resh*. The eight letters affect the *resh* only when *shewa* is under it or (when *shewa* is) under the eight letters that are specific to it.

**II.L.1.9.5.**

The light *resh* in their tradition is (in words) such as רְתֹ֛ם הַמֶּרְכָּבָ֖ה ‘Harness the chariot!’ (Micah 1.13), רְסִ֥יסֵי לָֽיְלָה ‘drops of the night’ (Cant. 5.2), בְּמִרְכֶּ֤בֶת הַמִּשְׁנֶה֙ ‘in his second chariot’ (Gen. 41.43). Such cases and similar ones are their normal pronunciation of the letter, for they consider it to be the light *resh*.

**II.L.1.9.6.**

The major *resh* in their tradition are cases such as הַרְּאִיתֶם֙ ‘Have you seen?’ (2 Kings 6.32), הַרְּעִמָ֑הּ ‘to irritate her’ (1 Sam. 1.6), and the like.

**II.L.1.9.7.**

The grade between two grades (of the *resh*) where *dalet* precedes it are cases such as דַּרְכֵ֨י צִיּ֜וֹן ‘the roads to Zion’ (Lam. 1.4), דַּרְכּ֖וֹ ‘his way’ (Gen. 24.21), לְדִרְא֥וֹן ‘to contempt’ (Dan. 12.2). Cases with *zayin* are זַרְזִ֥יף ‘dripping’ (Psa. 72.6), מִזַּרְע֛וֹ לַמֹּ֖לֶךְ ‘any of his offspring to Molech’ (Lev. 20.2), יִזְרֹ֑ק ‘He scatters’ (Isa. 28.25). Cases with *ṣade* are מַצְרֵ֣ף ‘the crucible’ (Prov. 17.3), כִּצְרֹ֣ף ‘as testing’ (Zech. 13.9), עַד־צָֽרְפַ֔ת ‘as far as Zarephath’ (Obd. 1.20). Cases of *tav* are תַּרְקִ֣יעַ ‘you spread out’ (Job 37.18), וְתַרְאֲלָ֑ה ‘and Taralah’ (Josh. 18.27), תַרְבִּ֣יעַ ‘you will (not) cause to breed’ (Lev. 19.19). Cases of *ṭet* are כָּל־טַרְפֵּ֤י צִמְחָהּ֙ ‘all the leaves of its sprouting’ (Ezek. 17.9), יִכְס֣וֹף לִטְר֑וֹף ‘He is eager to tear’ (Psa. 17.12), מִטְר֥וֹת עֻזּֽוֹ ‘the rains of his strength’ (Job 37.6). A case with *samekh* is סַרְעַפֹּתָ֜יו ‘its boughs’ (Ezek. 31.5). Cases with

אלריש ובעדה והמא לן̇ ואלסתה חרוף מן קבל אלריש והדא אלריש אלמדכור לא תותר פיה חרופה אלח̇ אלא אן יכון תחתה שוא או תחת חרופה אלח̇ [אל]מכצוצה בה

**II.L.1.9.5.**

פאלריש אלכפיף אלדי להם מתל רְתּם המרכבה רסיסי לילה במרכבת המשנה פהדא ומא שאכלה מא כלאמהם עליהא לאן הדא ענדהם הו אלריש אלכפיף

**II.L.1.9.6.**

ואלריש אלכביר ענדהם הו הראיתם הרעימה ואמתאלהמא

**II.L.1.9.7.**

ואלמנזלה בין מנזלתין ממא קבלה [אלד]אל כך̇ דרכי ציון דרכו

לדראון ואלזאי זרזיף מזרעו למולד <יזרוק> אלצדי מַצְרֵף

[כ]צרוף עד צרפת אלתו תרקיע ותראלה תרביע טית כל טרפי

צמחה יכסוף לטרוף מטרות עזו אלסמאך סרעפותיו אללמאד

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*lamed* are לִרְחֹץ 'to wash' (Gen. 24.32), לִרְעוֹת 'to graze' (1 Sam. 17.15), לִרְצֹנְכֶם 'for your favour' (Lev. 19.5), לִרְצֹנוֹ 'for his favour' (Lev. 1.3). Cases with *nun* are סַרְנֵי 'rulers of' (Josh. 13.3), נִרְדִּי 'my nard' (Cant. 1.12). They call these cases and similar ones a grade (of *resh*) between two grades, namely (the grades of) *dagesh* and *rafe*. Whoever investigates this carefully (will see that) it is as they say, since the difference is clear between the *resh* of רְתָם and רְסִיסֵי and (the *resh*) that is adjacent to the eight letters (preceding it) when they have *shewa* under them or when *shewa* is under it. Its heaviness is clear compared to the lightness of the *resh* of רְתָם and the like.

**II.L.1.9.8.**

It has been stated previously that I do not know anything that I can report about the *zāy makrūkh*. I only mentioned it so that it be known that letters have different attributes and because speech is dependent on letters.

**II.L.1.10. (Conjugations)**

Take note that the people of the language made the conjugations of the language in four categories: from one root letter, such as הַכֵּה 'hit' and the like, from two letters, such as בְּנֵה 'build' and the like, from three letters, such as שְׁמֹר and the like and from four letters, such as כַּרְבֵּל 'wrap', and the like. A letter may also change position in a word with the result that its meaning changes. I shall mention here the phenomenon of change of position in one word as an example: עֶרֶב with three letters from 'becoming evening', עָרֵב לָאִישׁ 'sweet to a man' (Prov. 20.17) from the lexical class of 'delight', עָרֹב כָּבֵד 'heavy swarm' (Exod. 8.20) from the lexical class of 'mixing', עֹרֵב לְמִינוֹ '(every) raven according to its kind' (Lev. 11.15), a bird, אֶת־עֹרֵב וְאֶת־זְאֵב 'Oreb and Zeeb' (Jud. 7.25), the name of a man. When you

לרחוץ לרעות לרצונכם לרצונו אלנון סרני נרדי פהדה אלאמתאל ואשבאההא יסמונהא מנזלה בין מנזלתין והמא אלדגש ואלרפי ומן תאמל דלך כאן כמא דכרו אד (L1:19r) אלפרק ט̇אהר בין ריש רְת̇ם וריש רסיסי ללמגאור להדה אלח̇ חרוף אדא כאן תחתהא או תחתה שוא ותקלה ט̇אהרא ענד כפה ריש רת̇ם ומא מאתלה

**II.L.1.9.8.**

וקד תקדם אלקול אן אלזאי אלמכרוך מא ערפת פיה שיא אדכרה ואנמא דכרתה ליערף אן ללחרוף אחכאם ולאן אלכלאם מתעלק באלחרוף

**II.L.1.10.**

(L3:8r) ואעלם אן אהל אללגה געלו תצאריף אללגה עלי ארבעה אקסאם מן חרף ואחד אצלי מתל הַכֵה ונחוה ומן חרפין מתל בנֵה ונחוה ומן ג̇ מתל שְׁמֹר ונחוה ומן ד̇ מתל כרבל ונחוה ואלחרף איצ̇א קד תתקלב פי אללפט̇ה ותתגאיר מעאניהא פאדכר מן גנס אלתקליב לפט̇ה ואחדה לתכון נמודגא עֶרֶב ג̇ חרוף מן אלגרוב עָרֵב לאיש מן לגה אללדה (L3:8v) עָרֹב כבד מן לגה אלאכתלאט עֹרֵב למינו טאיר עֹרֵב וזאב אסם רגל ואדא

change the position of their letters, they become בֶּ֫רַע 'Bera' (Gen. 14.2), the name of a man, רֶבַע 'a quarter', בַּעַר 'stupidity' from (the lexical class) of 'being stupid', from אִֽישׁ־בַּ֭עַר לֹ֣א יֵדָ֑ע 'The stupid man does not know' (Psa. 92.7), כִּ֤י יַבְעֶר־אִ֙ישׁ֙ 'when (a man) causes (a field or vineyard) to be grazed over' (Exod. 22.4) from the lexical class of 'trampling, befouling with dung', וַיַּבְעֶר־אֵ֙שׁ֙ 'He ignited fire' (Jud. 15.5) from the lexical class of 'kindling and setting fire', and וּבִֽעַרְתָּ֥ הָרָ֖ע 'and you will remove the evil' (Deut. 13.6, etc.) from the lexical class of 'removing'.

## II.L.1.11. Chapter concerning the Occurrence of Letters for the Sake of Enhancement

### II.L.1.11.1.

Take note that you do not find in the Bible a word that consists of less than two letters, as, for example, אַךְ 'surely, but', כִּי 'for, when', בּוֹ 'in it', מִן 'from', עַל 'upon', מִי 'who'. A word may consist of three letters, for example, שְׁמֹר 'keep', זְכֹר 'remember', עֲבֹר 'pass'. It may consist of four letters, for example כַּרְבֵּל 'wrap', from וְדָוִ֗יד מְכֻרְבָּ֣ל 'and David was wrapped' (1 Chron. 15.27). Expressions may be constructed from five up to eleven letters. We have not found more than that number. This is found in only three words: וּבְתוֹעֲבוֹתֵיהֶ֑ן 'and in their abominations' (Ezek. 16.47), וְכַעֲלִילֽוֹתֵיכֶ֖ם 'according to your deeds' (Ezek. 20.44), וְהָאֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִ֡ים 'and the satraps' (Esther 9.3). It has been said that it would have been possible for the people of the language to use twelve letters in the expression וּמִתַּעֲצוּמוֹתֵיכֶם 'and from your strength' (cf. וְתַעֲצֻמ֣וֹת 'and strength' Psa. 68.35) and other expressions according as the need may have arisen. As for words of two letters, when you move the first to the (position of) the last and the last to the (position of) the first, they turn out to be a functional part of speech consisting of two parts, for example,

אקלבתהא גת בֶרֶע אסם רגל [ר]בֶע רֵבע בֶעֶר מן אלתגאהל מן איש בער לא ידע כי יבער איש מן לגה אלתבאער ויבער אֵש מן לגה אלאחראק ואלאשעאל ובערת הרע מן לגה אלנפי

**II.L.1.11. באב פי מא יגי מן אלחרוף ללתפכים**

**II.L.1.11.1.**
אעלם אן כלמה פי אלמקרא אקל מן חרפין לא תגד מתל אַך כִי בוֹ מִן עַל מִי ותכון מן גׄ ככׄ שמר זכר עבֹר ותכון מן דׄ כרבל מן ודוד מכרבל ותנבני אלאלפאטׄ מן הׄ ומא זאד אלי יאׄ ומא וגדנא אזיד מן דלך והו גׄ אלפאטׄ פקט ובתועבותיהן וכעלילותיכם והאחשדרפנים וקד קיל אן ימכן אן יסתעמלו אהל אללגה יבׄ חרפא פי לפטׄה ומתעצומותיכם וגיר דלך ממא תדעוהם אלחאגה אליה ומא כאן מן אלכלם מן חרפין אדא נקלת אלאול אלי אלאכיר ואלאכיר אלי אלאול תכון עלי אלקסמין כלאמא

אָב 'father'—בָּא 'he came', כָּל 'he measured'—לָךְ 'to you', גָּד 'Gad' —דָּג 'fish', חֹם 'heat'—מֹחַ 'brain', צַק 'pour'—קֵץ 'end', and similar cases.

**II.L.1.11.2.**

An expression consisting of two or more letters may be enhanced. Enhancement includes various different types. A noun that is enhanced by *he*, as in עַצְמוֹן 'Azmon'—עַצְמֹ֫ונָה 'to Azmon' (Josh. 15.4), דְּבִיר 'Devir'—דְּבִ֫רָה 'to Devir' (Josh. 10.38, etc.), בָּבֶל 'Babylon'—בָּבֶ֫לָה 'to Babylon' (2 Kings 20.17, etc.) is one type. A second type is where a feminine noun ending in *he* is enhanced by *tav*, for example סוּפָה 'storm'—סוּפָ֫תָה 'storm' (Hos. 8.7), עֵיפָה 'darkness'—עֵיפָ֫תָה 'darkness' (Job 10.22), יְשׁוּעָה 'salvation'—יְשׁ֫וּעָ֫תָה 'salvation' (Psa. 3.3, etc.), and similar cases. It may be said that in מִצְרַיִם—מִצְרַ֫יְמָה 'to Egypt' (Gen. 46.3, etc.) and יְרוּשָׁלַםִ—יְרוּשָׁלָ֫יְמָה 'to Jerusalem' (1 Kings 10.2, etc.) that the *he* at the end of the word is in place of אֶל 'to'. A verb may also be enhanced with *he*, as in סְלַח־נָא 'pardon' (Num. 14.19)—סְלָ֫חָה 'pardon' (Dan. 9.19), שְׁמַע 'hear'—שְׁמָ֫עָה 'hear' (Dan. 9.19), שׁוּב 'return'—שׁוּבָ֫ה 'return' (Num. 10.36, etc.), קוּם 'arise'—קוּמָ֫ה 'arise' (Num. 10.35, etc.).

**II.L.1.11.3.**

Inflected nouns may be enhanced by *yod*, for example הַ֫יֹּשְׁבִי 'the one sitting' (Psa. 123.1), הַהֹפְכִי 'the one who changes' (Psa. 114.8), הַמַּגְבִּיהִ֫י 'the one who makes high' (Psa. 113.5), הַמַּשְׁפִּילִ֫י 'the one who makes low' (Psa. 113.6). Feminine nouns may also be enhanced by *yod*, as in תַּחֲלֻאָ֫יְכִי 'your diseases' (Psa. 103.3), נְעוּרָ֫יְכִי 'your youth' (Psa. 103.5), חַיָּ֫יְכִי 'your life' (Psa. 103.4). Nouns may also be enhanced by *vav*, for example בְּנוֹ בְעֹר 'the son

מסתעמלא (L3:10r) מתל אָב בָא כָל לָך גָד דָג חֹם מֹח צַק קֵץ ואמתאל דלך

**II.L.1.11.2.**

פאללפטֹ אלדי הו מן חרפין ומא זאד יפכם ואלתפכים עלי וגוה פאלאסם אלדי יפכם באלהא מתל עצמון עצמונה דביר דבירה בבל בבלה וגה בֿ והו אדא כאן אלאסם מונת בהא קד יפכם בתָ[ו] מתל סופה סופתה עיפה עיפתה ישועה ישועתה ואמתאל דלך וקד יקאל אן מצרים מצרימה ירושלם ירושלמה אן אלהא פי אכר אלאסם מקאם אֶל ואלפעל יפכם באלהא איצֿא מתל סלח נא סלָחָה שמַע שְׁמָעָה שוּב שובָה קום קומָה

**II.L.1.11.3.**

ואלאסמא אלמתצרפה פקד תפכם באליוד הישׁבִי ההוֹפכי המגביהי המשפילי ואלאסמא אלמונתה קד תפכם איצֿא באליוד מתל תחלואִיְכי נעוריְכי חיָיְכי ואלאסמא איצֿא תפכם בואו מתל

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of Beor' (Num. 24.3, etc.), חַיְתוֹ־אֶרֶץ 'beasts of the earth' (Gen. 1.24), לְמַעְיְנוֹ־מָיִם 'into a spring of water' (Psa. 114.8).

**II.L.1.11.4.**
Functional particles may be enhanced by *yod*, for example עֲלֵי־עָשׂוֹר וַעֲלֵי־נָבֶל 'on a ten-stringed instrument and on a harp' (Psa. 92.4), עַד 'until'—עֲדֵי 'until'. Functional particles may also be enhanced by *mem* and *vav*, for example אֲאַמִּצְכֶם בְּמוֹ־פִי 'I strengthen you with my mouth' (Job 16.5), the virtual form of which is בְּפִי, וְאָנִיעָה עֲלֵיכֶם בְּמוֹ רֹאשִׁי 'and I shake my head at you' (Job 16.4), the virtual form of which is בְּרֹאשִׁי, כִּי־תֵלֵךְ בְּמוֹ־אֵשׁ 'when you walk through fire' (Isa. 43.2), the virtual form of which is בָּאֵשׁ. The same is found in the middle of words, for example כְּמוֹהֶם 'like them'—כָּהֶם 'like them' (2 Kings 17.15).

**II.L.1.11.5.**
Take note that somebody who has discussed enhancement has stated that וּמִשִּׁירִי אֲהוֹדֶנּוּ 'and with my song I give thanks to him' (Psa. 28.7) is enhanced by *he*, and that if it was not enhanced, it would have been אוֹדֶנּוּ. Likewise he has stated יוֹשִׁיעַ 'he saves' is enhanced to יְהוֹשִׁיעַ 'he saves' (1 Sam. 17.47, etc.), and also יודוך 'they praise you'—יְהוֹדֻךָ 'they praise you' (Psa. 45.18). The situation is not, however, as he states, because the imperative forms are הוֹדֵה and הוֹשֵׁעַ and it is the rule that the (prefixed) letter of the future is attached to the imperatives of active verbs, so in the forms אֲהוֹדֶנּוּ, יְהוֹשִׁיעַ and יְהוֹדֻךָ the *he* is part of the basic structure and it is not a *he* of enhancement. Since, however, the people of the language regarded this as heavy, they elided the *he*s in such forms, in order to make the word lighter. You will find this explained in the books of the grammarians.

בנו בעור חייתו ארץ למעינו מים

**II.L.1.11.4.**

ותפכם אלכואדם באליוד מתל עלי עָשור וַעֲלֵי נָבל עַד עֲדֵי ותפכים איצׄא אלכואדם במאם וואו מתל אאמצכם במו פי תקדירה בפי ואניעה עליכם במו ראשי תקדירה בראשי כי תלך במו אש תקדירה בָאש ומתל דלך פי וסט אלכלאם כמוהם כהם

**II.L.1.11.5.**

ואעלם אן מן תכלם פי אלתפכים קאל אן ומשירי (L3:10v) אהוֹדֶנו הו מפכם בהא ולו לם יפכם כאן אוֹדֶנו ומתלה קאל יוֹשִׁיעַ יפכם יהוֹשִׁיעַ וכדלך יודוך יהודוך וליס אלאמר כמא דכר לאן אלאמר הוֹדֶה הוֹשֵׁע ומן חכם חרף אלאסתקבאל ידכל עלי אלאואמר ממא יסמא פאעלה פאדא קאל אהודנו יהושיע יהודוך אלהא קרת מקרהא פליס הי הא תפכים ואנמא למא אסתתקל דלך אהל אללגה חדפו אלהאאת ממא מאתלהא אסתכפאפא ללכלאם והדא תגדה פי כתב אללגויין מביינא

**II.L.1.11.6.**

Verbs may be enhanced by a *vav* at the end of the word, for example וְגֵרַשְׁתָּ֫מוֹ מִפָּנֶֽיךָ ‘and you will drive them out from before you’ (Exod. 23.31), the virtual form of which is וְגֵרַשְׁתָּם. Similar examples are הֲנִיעֵ֣מוֹ בְ֭חֵילְךָ וְהוֹרִידֵ֑מוֹ ‘make them move by your power, and bring them down’ (Psa. 59.12), כִּֽי־תִפְאֶ֣רֶת עֻזָּ֣מוֹ ‘for (you are) the glory of their strength’ (Psa. 89.18), and further cases.

**II.L.1.12. Section**

**II.L.1.12.1.**

One person who has discussed enhancement has said that identical successive letters are enhanced in (ways that fall into) two categories. The first category is (an enhancement) of a letter by another identical letter, whereby they become two letters. The second is (an enhancement) of two letters by two identical adjacent letters, whereby they become four.

**II.L.1.12.2.**

Examples of the first category include the following. *Bet*: ע֭וֹד יְנוּב֣וּן ‘They still bring forth fruit’ (Psa. 92.15), which does not have successive letters, and יְנוֹבֵ֥ב בְּתֻלֽוֹת ‘It will make the maidens flourish’ (Zech. 9.17). *Gimel*: וְיָחֹ֥גּוּ לִ֖י ‘that they may hold a feast for me’ (Exod. 5.1), וְחֹ֣גְגִ֔ים ‘and celebrating’ (1 Sam. 30.16). *Dalet*: וְלֹ֥א תָנֽוּד ‘and you should not waver’ (Jer. 4.1), כִּֽי־מִדֵּ֥י דְבָרֶ֛יךָ בּ֖וֹ תִּתְנוֹדָֽד ‘whenever you spoke of him, you shook your head’ (Jer. 48.27). *He*: וַתֵּ֣כַהּ מִכַּ֣עַשׂ ‘(My eye) has grown dim from anger’ (Job 17.1), כָּהֹ֥ה תִכְהֶֽה ‘(Let his right eye) be utterly blinded’ (Zech. 11.17). *Zayin*: בֹּ֥זּוּ כֶ֖סֶף ‘Plunder the silver’ (Nahum 2.10), וּבָֽזְזוּ֙ אֶת־בֹּ֣זְזֵיהֶ֔ם ‘and they will plunder those who plunder them’ (Ezek. 39.10). *Ḥet*: אָשִׂ֫יחָה ‘I will complain’ (Job 7.11, etc.), אָשׂ֥וֹחֵֽחַ ‘I muse’ (Psa. 143.5). *Ṭet*: יִ֝מּ֗וֹטוּ ‘are shaken’ (Psa. 82.5), מ֑וֹט

**II.L.1.11.6.**

וקד תפכם אלאפעאל פי אכר אלכלאם בואו כךׄ וגרשתמו מפניך תקדירה וגרשתם ומתלה הניעמו בחילך והורידמו כי תפארת עזמו אלי גיר דלך

## **II.L.1.12. פצל**

**II.L.1.12.1.**

קאל מן תכלם פי אלתפכים אן אלחרוף אלמתראדפה תפכם עלי קסמין אלקסם אלואחד חרף לחרף מתמאתלין פיצירא חרפאן אלבׄ חרפין לחרפין מתגאורה פיצירון ארבעה

**II.L.1.12.2.**

אלקסם אלאול אלבֵא עוד ינובון גיר מתראדף ינובב בתולות מתראדף אלגמאל ויחגו לי וחוגגים  אלדאל ולא תנוד כי מדי דבריך בו תתנודָד אלהא ותֵכֶה מכעס (L1:20v) כהה תכהה אלזאי בזו כסף ובזזו את בזיהם אלחית אשיחה אשוחח אלטית ימוטו

הִֽתְמוֹטְטָה 'is violently shaken' (Isa. 24.19); שׁ֣וּט 'go through' (2 Sam. 24.2), שׁוֹטְט֨וּ 'go through' (Jer. 5.1). *Yod*: כִּתִּ֖ים 'Kittim' (Gen. 10.4, etc.), כִתִּיִּ֜ים 'Kittim' (Jer. 2.10,. etc.). *Kaf*: כְּשֹׁ֕ךְ חֲמַ֖ת הַמֶּ֣לֶךְ 'when the anger of the king had abated' (Esther 2.1), וַחֲמַ֥ת הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ שָׁכָֽכָה 'The anger of the king abated' (Esther 7.10). *Lamed*: יִמַּ֥ל 'withers' (Job 18.16), יְמוֹלֵ֥ל 'withers' (Psa. 90.6). *Mem*: דוּמָ֣ה 'in silence' (Psa. 94.17), דּוּמָ֛ם 'in silence' (Isa. 47.5, etc.). *Nun*: וַהֲכִינוֹתִ֖י 'and I will establish' (1 Chron. 17.11, etc.), וְכֹנַנְתִּ֛י 'and I will establish' (2 Sam. 7.13). *Samekh*: לָרֹ֖ס 'to moisten' (Ezek. 46.14), רְסִ֥יסֵי 'drops' (Cant. 5.2). *ʿAyin*: תְּ֭רֹעֵם 'You shall break them' (Psa. 2.9), רֹ֤עָה הִתְרֹֽעֲעָה 'is utterly broken' (Isa. 24.19). *Pe*: וְהֵנִ֥יף יָד֛וֹ 'and he will wave his hand' (2 Kings 5.11, etc.), יְנֹפֵ֤ף יָדוֹ֙ 'He will shake his hand' (Isa. 10.32). *Ṣade*: וַיַּ֜חַץ 'and he divided' (Gen. 32.8, etc.), וּמִסְפַּ֖ר חֳדָשָׁ֣יו חֻצָּֽצוּ 'while the number of his months have been cut in two' (Job 21.21). *Qof*: וּ֝מָק֗וֹם לַזָּהָ֥ב יָזֹֽקּוּ 'and a place for gold that they refine' (Job 28.1), מְזֻקָּ֖ק 'refined' (1 Chron. 28.18, etc.). *Resh*: א֣וֹרוּ מֵר֗וֹז 'Curse Meroz' (Jud. 5.23), אֹ֖רוּ אָר֣וֹר 'Curse bitterly' (Jud. 5.23). *Shin*: וַיָּחִ֙ילוּ֙ עַד־בּ֔וֹשׁ 'and they waited until they were disappointed' (Jud. 3.25), בֹשֵׁ֥שׁ 'He disappointed (by delaying)' (Exod. 32.1); הִֽתְקוֹשְׁשׁ֖וּ וָק֑וֹשּׁוּ 'Come together and hold assembly' (Zeph. 2.1). *Tav*: יֵחַ֣תּוּ 'will be broken' (1 Sam 2.10, etc.), וְהַחְתַּתִּ֨י 'and I will cause to be dismayed' (Jer. 49.37). These are examples of a letter being followed by another letter to form two (identical) letters.

**II.L.1.12.3.**

Now, the second category, in which two letters follow two letters, include cases such as וְנָפ֖וֹץ הַכַּדִּ֥ים 'smashed the jars' (Jud. 7.19), וַֽיְפַצְפְּצֵ֗נִי 'and he dashed me to pieces' (Job 16.12); אַרְזָ֖ה עֵרָֽה 'The cedar work has been laid bare' (Zeph. 2.14), עַרְעֵ֣ר תִּתְעַרְעָ֔ר

מוט התמוטטה שוט שוטטו אליוד כתים כתיים אלכאף כשד חׄ

וחמת המׄ שככה אללמאד ימל ימוֹלֵל אלמאם דומה דומם אלנון

והכינותי וכוננתי אלסמאך לרס רסִיסֵי אלעין תרועם רעה

התרועעה אלפא והניף ינופף ידו אלצדי ויחץ מספר חדשיו

חֱצָצוּ אלקוף ומקום לזהב יזׄקו מזקק אלריש אׄרו מרוז ארו ארור

אלשין ויחילו עד בוש בושש התקוששו וקשו אלתו יחתו

והחתתי פהדה מן תראדף חרף לחרף פצאר חרפין

**II.L.1.12.3.**

והדא אלקסם אלבׄ והו מא יתראדף חרפין לחרפין ונפׄץ

<הכדים> ויפצפצני ארזה ערה <ערער> תתערער אלי גיר דלך

629 הכדים] הבדים L3:1r L1 | ערער] L3:1r ערה L1

‘will be laid utterly bare’ (Jer. 51.58), and other cases, which have been stated to be enhancement by a scholar who has discussed enhancement. Note, however, according to the *diqduq* scholars this is not enhancement. This is because the meaning (of a word) can be fully expressed without a letter of enhancement and also (a letter of enhancement) is not a fixed component of a conjugation. These scholars fall into two groups. Some of them consider it (i.e. the enhanced letter in the examples above) to be a root letter due to the fact that it is a fixed component of the conjugation. Others call it an auxiliary letter and do not consider that it should be called a root letter, since one may utter (inflections of) the lexical class without it, but not in the way that (inflections of) a lexical class are uttered without a letter that is for the purpose of enhancement.

**II.L.1.13. Chapter on Contraction**

Take note that *he* may occur for the sake of enhancement without expressing meaning and, conversely, it may be contracted, being indicated only by the grammar, and retain the meaning of *he*. It is contracted after *ʾalef*, as in וַיֵּ֫דֶא ‘He flew swiftly’ (Psa. 18.11), the virtual form of which is יִדְאֶה, like כַּאֲשֶׁר יִדְאֶה ‘as (the eagle) flies swiftly’ (Deut. 28.49), its imperative being דְּאֵה. *He* is contracted after *bet*, as in וְהָעֹוף יִ֥רֶב ‘and let the birds multiply’ (Gen. 1.22), the virtual form of which is יִרְבֶּה, and after *gimel*, as in הַגָּג ‘the roof’, הַגָּ֑גָה ‘to the roof’ (Josh. 2.6). *He* is contracted after *dalet*, as in תַּעְדֶּה כֵלֶ֫יהָ ‘She adorns herself with her jewels’ (Isa. 61.10), וַתַּ֤עַד נִזְמָהּ ‘She decked herself with her ring’ (Hos. 2.15). It is contracted after *he*: תִּכְהֶה ‘will be blinded’ (Zech. 11.17), וַתֵּ֣כַהּ ‘(My eye) has grown dim’ (Job 17.7). It is contracted after *vav*: וְיִתְאָ֣ו ‘(The king) will desire’

ממא קאלה מן תכלם פי אלתפכים אנה תפכים ואעלם אן אלדקדוקיין ליס הדא ענדהם תפכים לאן חרף אלתפכים יתם אלגרץ̇ מן דונה ואיצ̇א פלא יתבת פי תצריף והם עלי קסמין מנהם מן יגעלה חרף אצלי לתבותה פי אלתצריף ומנהם מן יסמיה מסתעמל [ולא ירי] אן יסמיה אצלי לאן קד יתכלם באללגה מן דונה לא עלי אלוגה אלדי (L3:1v) יתכלם באללגה מן דון אלחרף אלדי ללתפכים

**II.L.1.13. באב פי אלאכתצאר**

אעלם אן אלהא תגי ללתפכים ולא יט̇הר להא מעני ותגי בעכס דלך והו אן תכתצר ותדל עליהא אללגה ויכון להא מעני אלהא קד תכתצר בעד אלאלף כך̇ וידא תקדירה וידאה מתל כאשר ידאה אלאמר מנה דאֵה ויכתצר אלהא בעד אלבא מתל והעוף ירב ותקדירה יִרבַה ובעד גמאל [הג]ג הגגָה ויכתצר אלהא בעד אלדאל מתל תעדה כ[ליה] ותעד נזמה ויכתצר בעד אלהא תִכְהַה ותֵכַה ויכתצר בעד אלואו ויתאו ויתאוה ויכתצר בעד

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(Psa. 45.12), וַיִּתְאַוֶּה 'and he longed' (2 Sam. 23.15). It is contracted after *zayin*: וַיִּבֶז עֵשָׂו 'and Esau despised' (Gen. 25.34), אֱלֹהִים לֹא תִבְזֶה 'God, you will not despise' (Psa. 51.19). It is contracted after *ḥet*: וַיִּמַח 'and he blotted out' (Gen. 7.23), תִּמְחֶה 'You will blot out' (Deut. 25.19). It is contracted after *ṭet*: וַיֵּט 'and he stretched' (Gen. 29.21, etc.), יַטֶּה יָדוֹ '(The Lord) stretches out his hand' (Isa. 31.3). It is contracted after *yod*: אֵי הֶבֶל אָחִיךָ 'Where is Abel your brother?' (Gen. 4.9), אַיֵּה׀ חֲסָדֶיךָ 'Where is your loving kindness?' (Psa. 89.50). It is contracted after *kaf*: וַתֵּבְךְּ עָלָיו 'and she wept before him' (Jud. 14.17), וַתִּבְכֶּה וְלֹא תֹאכַל 'and she wept and did not eat' (1 Sam. 1.17). It is contracted after *lamed*: וַיַּעַל נְשִׂאִים 'He made the mists rise' (Jer. 51.16), וַיַּעֲלֶה נְשִׂאִים 'and he made the mists rise' (Jer. 10.13). It is contracted after *mem*: מִצָּפוֹן וּמִיָּם 'from the north and from the south' (Psa. 107.3, etc.), יָמָּה וְצָפֹנָה 'westward and northward' (Deut. 3.27, etc.). It is contracted after *nun*: וַיִּבֶן אֶת־הַבַּיִת 'and he built the house' (1 Kings 6.9), וַיִּבְנֶה 'and he built' (Josh. 19.50). It is contracted after *samekh*: אַעֲלֶה אֲכַסֶּה־אֶרֶץ 'I will arise and cover the earth' (Jer. 46.8), וַיְכַס אֶת־עֵין כָּל־הָאָרֶץ 'and it covered the face of the whole land' (Exod. 10.15). It is contracted after *ʿayin*: וַיִּשַׁע יְהוָה אֶל־הֶבֶל וְאֶל־מִנְחָתוֹ 'and the Lord had regard for Abel and his offering' (Gen. 4.4), יִשְׁעֶה הָאָדָם 'man will regard' (Isa. 17.7). It is contracted after *pe*: אַל־תֶּרֶף יָדֶיךָ 'Do not release your hand' (Josh. 10.6), הַרְפֵּה 'release' (Jud. 11.37). It is contracted after *ṣade*: וְתִרֶץ אֶת־שַׁבְּתֹתֶיהָ 'Let it enjoy its sabbaths' (Lev. 26.43), אָז תִּרְצֶה הָאָרֶץ 'Then the land will enjoy' (Lev. 26.34). It is contracted after *qof*: וַיַּשְׁקְ אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'and he made the people of Israel drink' (Exod. 32.20), וָאַשְׁקֶה אֶת־כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם 'and I made all the nations drink' (Jer. 25.17). It is contracted after *resh*: אַל־תְּעַר נַפְשִׁי 'Do not pour out my soul' (Psa. 141.8), אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱרָה לַמָּוֶת נַפְשׁוֹ 'because he poured out his soul to death' (Isa. 53.12). It is contrated after *shin*: וַיִּקֶשׁ דְּבַר־אִישׁ יְהוּדָה 'The words of the men of Judah were harder' (2

אלזאי ויבז עשו אלהים לא תבזה ויכתצר בעד אלחית וימח תמחָה ויכתצר בעד אלטית ויט יטה ידו ויכתצר בעד אליוד אי הבל אחיך איה חסדיך ויכתצר בעד אלכאף ותֵבְך עליו ותבְכֶּה ולא תאכַל ויכתצר בעד אללמאד ויעל נשיאים ויעלה נשיאים ויכתצר בעד אלמאם מצפון ומים ימה וצפונה ויכתצר בעד אלנון ויבן את הבית ויבנה ויכתצר בעד אלסמאך אעלה אכסה ארץ ויכס את עין כל הארץ ויכתצר בעד אלעין וישע ייי אל הבל ואל מנחתו (L3:12r) ישעה האדם ויכתצר בעד אל[פ]א אל תרף ידי[ך] הרפה ויכתצר בעד אל[צ]די ותרץ את שבתותיה אז תרצה הארץ ויכתצר בעד אלקוף וישק את בני יש̇ ואשקה את כל הגוים ויכתצר בעד ריש אל תער נפשי אשר הערה למות נפ[שו] ויכתצר בעד אלשין ויקש דבר איש יהודה לא יקשה

Sam. 19.44), לֹֽא־יִקְשֶׁ֣ה בְעֵינֶ֔ךָ ‘It will not seem hard to you’ (Deut. 15.18). It contracts after *tav*: הַעִיר֤וֹתִי מִצָּפוֹן֙ וַיַּ֔את ‘I stirred up (one) from the north and he has come’ (Isa. 41.25), עָדֶ֣יךָ תֵּאתֶ֑ה ‘To you it will come’ (Micah 4.8). (To these can be added) other examples of this type.

This is what needs to be said in the discourse on the letters. It is finished, much praise be to God.

בעיניך ויכתצר בעד אלתָו העירותי מצפון ויֶאת עדיךָ תֵאתֶה אלי

ג'יר דלך מן הדא אלגנס

פהדא מא לאח אן ידכר פי מקאלה אלחרוף תמת ואלחמד ללה כתירא

# II.L.2.0.
# THE SECOND DISCOURSE

### II.L.2.1. (Preliminary Remarks on Vowels)

**II.L.2.1.1.**

Discussion concerning the 'kings'. If you wish, you may say concerning the 'melodies', and if you wish, you may say concerning the 'inflections'. The meaning of these is the same.[8] Four preliminary issues will be presented at the beginning of this section. Some of these have already been mentioned previously.

**II.L.2.1.2.**

The first is that speech cannot begin with a 'melody' (vowel), i.e. a 'king' (vowel). Rather it must begin with a letter. This is because when somebody begins speaking, the first component of his speech that is heard is one of the letters. He cannot begin with one of the vowels without putting a letter before it.

**II.L.2.1.3.**

The second is that when somebody begins (speech) with a letter, he must attach vocalic articulation (*ʾiʿrāb*) to this, since the letter cannot be deprived of this when it is the beginning (of speech).

**II.L.2.1.4.**

The third is that if somebody utters a word consisting of two letters that appear in speech,[9] a vowel must come between

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[8] I.e. they refer to the vowels. | [9] I.e. letters that are consonants and not 'soft' vowel letters.

## II.L.2.0.
## אל מקאלה אלתאניה

**II.L.2.1.**

**II.L.2.1.1.**

אלכלאם פי אלמלוך ואן שית אן תקול פי אלנגמאת ואן שית תקול פי אלאנחא פאלמעני פי דלך ואחד יקדם להדה אלמקאלה ארבע מקדמאת ממא קד דכר טרף מנה פימא תקדם

**II.L.2.1.2.**

אלאול אלנטק לא יכון אבתדאה ואולה נגמה אעני מלך ואנמא יכון אולה חרף ודלך אן אלמבתדי באלכלאם אול מא יטׄהר ללסמע מן נטקה אחד אלחרוף ולא ימכנה אן יבדא בשי מן אלמלוך דון אן יקדם קבלה חרף

**II.L.2.1.3.**

ואלתאני הו (L3:12v) אן אדא אבתדא בחרף לא בד מן אן יתבעה אעראב אד לא יגוז אן יערא אלחרף מן דלך אדא כאן אבתדא

**II.L.2.1.4.**

ואלתאלתה הו אנה אדא נטק בלפטׄה דאת חרפין טׄאהרין פי אלנטק לא בד מן אן יתולד בינהמא מן אלנגמה אעני אחד

them, I mean one of the eight vowels, as in שָׁם, עָם, לָךְ, and as in וַיֵּלֶךְ,[10] and similar cases.

**II.L.2.1.5.**

The fourth is that the vowels always belong to the letters and the letters do not belong to vowels. This is because the vowels cannot function without letters. A letter may be deprived of a vowel but a vowel may not be deprived of a letter. This is because speech must consist of quiescent and mobile components and a mobile component is only made mobile by a vowel, whereas a quiescent component dispenses with this, as will be described in what follows.

## II.L.2.2. Chapter concerning the Number of the Vowels and those of them that are 'High', those of them that are 'Level' and those of them that are 'Low', and what is Connected to this

**II.L.2.2.1.**

What is to be said concerning the vowels is manifest and clear, and not obscure, because it is through them that the purpose of a speaker is understood, and without them speech would be nonsense. Surely you see that in the original establishment (of language) by convention they were indispensable. This is because the origin of language was with Adam, peace be upon him. Either at the beginning the angels and he established language by mutual convention[11] or they taught him language. It is not possible that God, may He be exalted, established

[10] This word consists of two consonantal radicals, viz. ל and ך, the inflectional prefix being ignored. | [11] Literally: The angels established language by convention with him and he established it by convention with them.

אלתמאניה נגמאת מתל קוֹ שָׁם עָם לָךְ וכקוֹ וילַךְ ואמתאל דלך

**II.L.2.1.5.**

ואלראבעה הו אן אלמלוך אבדא תאבעה ללחרוף וליס אלחרוף תאבעה ללמלוך לאן לא תפיד אלמלוך מן דון אלחרוף ואלחרף קד יערי מן נגמה ואלנגמה לא תערי מן חרף לאן אלנטק לא בד לה מן סאכן ומתחרך פאלמתחרך לא יתחרך אלא בנגמה ואלסאכן מסתגני ען דלך עלי מא יגי דכרה פי מא בעד

**II.L.2.2. (L5:2r) באב פי עדד אלנגמאת ומא מנהא רפע ומא מנהא נצב ומא מנהא כפ̇ ומא יתצל בדלך**

**II.L.2.2.1.**

אלכלאם פי אלמלוך ט̇אהר (L5:2v) ג̇לי גיר כפי לאן בהא יפהם ען אלמתכלם גרצ̇ה ולולאהא לכאן אלכלאם עבתא אלי תרי אן פי אצל אלמואצ̇עה לא בד מנהא ודאך אן אצל אללגה מע אדם על̇ אלס̇ אמא אן תכון אלמלאיכה ואצ̇עתה אללגה וואצ̇עהא אבתדא או עלמתה אללגה תעלימא ואלמלאיכה לא יג̇וז אן

language by convention with the angels, because the establishment by convention requires the pointing to the thing for which language is conventionally established. Pointing can only be undertaken with a limb, but He, may He be exalted, transcends the need to have limbs. If somebody were to say that He could have created a limb with which to establish (language) just as He could have created an instrument for speech, with which He could speak, (the response would be): but He must have taught them language to some extent for the sake of His first speech, namely when He said to the angels יְהִ֣י א֑וֹר 'Let there be light' (Gen. 1.3), and He caused this to happen after this speech and thereby obliged them to recognize that 'light' is the name of what came into being after the speech and they learnt this. Then other items (of language) followed a similar course. He would have helped them receive and retain (language) from the first instance.

**II.L.2.2.2.**

When He said יְהִ֣י א֑וֹר, the *shewa* in it under the *yod* must of necessity have been pronounced mobile and the *ḥireq* must have been pronounced under the *he*, so that יְהִי was a future form. Similarly, when He said to Adam מִכֹּ֥ל עֵֽץ־הַגָּ֖ן אָכֹ֥ל תֹּאכֵֽל 'You may eat of every tree of the garden' (Gen. 2.16), if He had not pronounced *qameṣ* under the *ʾalef* and *ḥolem* over the *kaf*, it would not have been known that this is an infinitive. This is because the meaning of the letters in a case such as אכל changes with *pataḥ*, resulting in the change of vowels into the form אָכַל. When *pataḥ* occurs in the place of *ḥolem*, it becomes a past verb. So with אָכֹל, when *shewa* occurs in place of *qameṣ*, it becomes an imperative. Likewise with אֹכֵל, when *ḥolem* occurs on *ʾalef* and

יואצ̇עהא אללה תע̇ לאן אלמואצ̇עה לא בד להא מן אלאשארה אלי אלשי אלמתואצ̇ע עליה ואלאשארה לא תכון אלא בג̇ארחה והו תע̇ יתעאלי ען אן יכון בדי ג̇ארחה (L5:3r) ואן כאן קד קאל בעצ̇הם אנה יג̇וז אן יכלק ג̇ארחה [יואצ̇ע] בהא כמא יג̇וז אן יכלק אלה ללכלאם ויתכלם בהא לכן עלי אלקול אלאול יכון עלמהם אללגה עלי וג̇ה והו אן יכון קאל ללמלאיכה יהי אור פחדת פי אלתאני מן קולה ואצ̇טרהם אלי אן אור אסם אלשי אלחאדת מן בעד אלקול פעלמוה ומא כאן סואה ג̇רי מג̇ראה ויכון קד אידהם באלקבול ואלחפט̇ מן אול מרה

**II.L.2.2.2.**

פלמא קאל יהי אור לם יכון בד מן חרכה אלשוא מנטוק בהא תחת אליוד ואלחרק תחת אלהא (L5:3v) חתי יכון יהי מסתקבלא וכדלך למא קאל לאדם מכל עץ הגן אכל תאכל לולא מא אתי בחרכה אלקמץ תחת אלאלף וחרכה אלחלם פוק אלכאף למא עלם אן דלך מצדר לאן מתל חרוף אכל יתגייר (L3:13v) באלפתחה מענאהא לאגל תגייר אלמלוד בקו̇ אָכַל למא צארת אלפתחה עוץ̇ אלחלם צאר פעלא מאצ̇יא וכדלך אָכֹל למא צאר עוץ̇ אלקמץ שוא צארת אמרא כדלך אֹכֵל למא צאר עלי אלאלף

690 [יואצ̇ע]] יואצ̇ע L3:13r 697 ואלחרק] אלחֶרֶק L3:13r

*ṣere* under the *kaf*, it becomes a participle. The changes in meaning of these three letters that you see, without themselves changing, are all due to the change of vowels, so without them none of what has been mentioned (with regard to changes of meaning) could have come about and no speech would have taken place. A similar case is עָשֹׂה, עָשָׂה, עֲשֵׂה, עֹשֶׂה, עֹשָׂה.

**II.L.2.2.3.**

So it is clear to you that the vowels are not innovations but rather the fourth of the obligatory requirements, in accordance with what has been discussed previously in the first discourse. A single letter may exist without a vowel. When a speaker wants to speak, he adds to the single letter another letter, and further letters, but he is in no circumstances able to add a second letter when the first letter is deprived of a vowel. A letter is an element (of speech), but communication between people can only be achieved by combining a letter with a vowel. A letter can stand without a (subsequent) vowel but a vowel can only stand with (a preceding) letter.

## II.L.2.3. Section concerning what Corresponds to (Arabic) Inflectional Vowels

**II.L.2.3.1.**

In this regard it has been said that vowels are a basic component of speech and every language requires certain vowels so that speakers can make their intentions understood to one another.

**II.L.2.3.2. Section**

The Arabs have three inflectional vowels in their language. These are ‘raising’ (*rafʿ*), i.e. the vowel *ḍamma*, which is written above; ‘holding level’ (*naṣb*), i.e. the vowel *fatḥa*, which is written above; and ‘lowering’ (*khafḍ*), i.e. the vowel *kasra*, which is written below. They also have vowelless inflection

חלם ותחת אלכאף צֵרי צאר פאעל פמא תרי אלי מא צארת אליה הדה אלתלתה אלחרוף מן תגייר אלמעאני והי מא תגיירת פי דאתהא וכל דלך מן אגל תגייר אלנגמאת פלולאהא למא צח מן גמיע מא דכר שיא ולא תם כלאם ומתל דלך עָשׂה עָשָׂה עֲשֵׂה עֹשֶׂה עֹשָׂה

**II.L.2.2.3.**

פקד באן לך אן אלמלוך ליס הי מסתחדתה בל הי אלראבע מן אלאפתקאראת עלי מא מצׄא אלכלאם פי אלמקאלה אלאולי פאלחרף אלואחד ימכן וגודה עארי מן מלך פאדא אראד אלמתכלם אן יתכלם זאד עלי אלחרף אלואחד חרף אכר ומא זאד גיר אנה לא ימכן אן יזיד חרפא תאניא ואלאול עארי מן מלך בתה פצאר אלחרף אצלא ולא יתם אלתכאטב (L3:2r) בה ללאפאדה אלא באלמלך פחרף [ק]ד יכון בלא מלך ומלך לא יכון אלא בחרף

## II.L.2.3. **פצל [פי] מא גרי מגרי אלאעראב**

**II.L.2.3.1.**

ולהדא קיל אן אלמלוך אצלא תאבתא ללכלאם פלא בד לכל לגה מן חרכאת מא ליפהמו בעצׄהם בעץׄ אגראצׄהם

**II.L.2.3.2. פצל**

ללערב פי לגתהם מן אלאעראב תלתה והי אלרפע והו אלצׄמה מן פוק ואלנצב והו אלפתחה מן פוק ואלכפץׄ והי אלכסרה מן אספל ולהם אלגזם אלדי יגזמו בה אלחרף אעני יסכנהו והי

(*jazm*), in which they cut short a letter, I mean they make it quiescent (without a vowel). This is a circle (sign) written over the letter that is made quiescent. ‘Raising’ (*rafʿ*) is a form such as *Zayd-u*, ‘holding level’ (*naṣb*) is *Zayd-a* and ‘lowering’ (*khafḍ*) is *Zayd-i*. They have given the agent *rafʿ* inflection due to its agency. They have given the patient *naṣb* inflection due to the occurrence of the action upon it. They have made the affixed particles *bi-*, *ka-* and *li-* govern *khafḍ* inflection and they say *dār li-Zayd-in* ‘a house of Zayd’, *marartu bi-Zayd-in* ‘I passed by Zayd’, *Zayd-u ka-Bakr-in* ‘Zayd is like Bakr’, and the same applies also to other particles that govern *khafḍ* inflection other than these three affixes, i.e. *min, ʿalā, ʿan, ʾilā, fawqa, ʾasfala, taḥta, quddāma*, and other *khafḍ*-governing particles. I have mentioned this to show that the Hebrew language has vowels corresponding to these inflectional vowels that are greater in number than those of the Arabic language. In this respect Hebrew exhibits its superiority over Arabic, as it does in other features that are not connected with the topic I have described.

### II.L.2.4. Section on the Correspondence (of Hebrew Vowels) to Arabic Inflectional Vowels

(What corresponds to) Arabic inflectional vowels (*ʾiʿrāb*) in the Hebrew language consists of three categories: ‘raising’ (*rafʿ*), ‘holding level’ (*naṣb*) and ‘lowering’ (*khafḍ*). (What corresponds to Arabic) vowelless inflection (*jazm*) in Hebrew falls into two categories, one like the vowellessness of the Arabic language and the other is not found in it (i.e. in Arabic). For this reason I have said that the vowels of our language are greater in number than the inflectional vowels of Arabic. The last category (i.e. mobile *shewa*) is divided into three types. The first of these types corresponds to the three types of Arabic inflectional vowels. The second type corresponds to the ‘holding level’ (*naṣb*) only. The third type corresponds to the ‘lowering’ (*khafḍ*) only. What

דאירה עלי אלחרף אלמגזום פאלרפע נחו זידֻ ואלנצב זידאַ ואלכפץ̇ זידִ פגעלו אלפאעל מרפוע בפעלה וגעלו אלמפעול מנצובא בוקוע אלפעל עליה וגעלו אלבא ואלכאף ואללאם אלזואיד תכפץ̇ פיקולון דאר לזידٍ ומררת בזידٍ וזידֻ כבכ̇רٍ מע מא להם מן חרוף אלכפץ̇ גיר אלג̇ זואיד והי מן ועלי וען ואלי ופוק ואספל ותחת וקדאם אלי גיר דלך מן אלחרוף אלכאפצ̇ה ואנמא אורדת דלך לאורי אן אללגה אלעבראניה להא ממא יגרי מגרי אלאעראב אכתר ממא ללגה אלערביה פתט̇הר פצ̇ילתהא פי הדא אלוגה מע מא להא עליהא סוא דלך ממא ליס יתעלק בה אלכלאם פי מא קצדתה

**II.L.2.4. (L3:2v) פצל [פי] מא יגרי מגרי אלאעראב**

אלאעראב פי אללגה אלעבראניה תלת רפע ונצב וכפץ̇ ואלגזם פי אלעבראני עלי קסמין אלואחד מתל גזם אללגה אלערביה ואלאכר ליס הו להא פלהדא קלת אן חרכאת לגתנא אכתר מן אעראבהא והדא אלקסם אלאכיר ינקסם עלי ג̇ אקסאם אלקסם אלאול מן הדה ינוב ען ג̇ אקסאם אלאעראב ואלקסם אלב̇ ינוב ען אלנצב פקט ואלקסם אלג̇ ינוב ען אלכפץ̇ פקט אלרפע פי

corresponds in Hebrew to (the Arabic inflectional vowel) ‘raising’ (*rafʿ*) are two vowels, namely אוֹ and אוּ. Three vowels correspond to (the Arabic inflectional vowel) ‘holding level’ (*naṣb*), namely ‘big *fatḥa*’, i.e. אַ, ‘medium *fatḥa*’, i.e. אֶ, and ‘small *fatḥa*’, i.e. אָ. Two vowels correspond to (the Arabic inflectional vowel) ‘lowering’ (*khafḍ*), namely אֵי and אִי. The vowelless inflection (*jazm*) is the quiescent *shewa*. This is the vowellessness of Arabic. The other *jazm* is the mobile *shewa*. This, as I have mentioned, is divided into three types. The *shewa* requires special discussion and this will come in its appropriate place, with the help of God.

**II.L.2.5. Section (on *Rafʿ*)**

Take note that one category of ‘raising’ (*rafʿ*) in the Hebrew language is used in the active participle in certain conjugations, for example בּוֹנֶה, קוֹנֶה, and other examples with this pattern, אוֹכֵל, שׁוֹמֵר, and other examples with this pattern, שֹׁמֵעַ, פֹּתֵחַ , and other examples with this pattern. To these should be added forms that are used for the imperative and the past such as שׁוֹרֵף ‘be burnt’, שׁוֹרַף ‘was burnt’, and other examples of this pattern; those that are used for the imperative in the conjugaton כּוֹנֵן such as סֹב ‘turn’, חֹן ‘be gracious’; those that are used for the past in the conjugation שִׁירוֹ, such as נוֹדַע ‘be known’, נוֹשַׁע ‘be saved’; those that are used for unconjugated nouns designating bodies and abstractions, such as אֹהֶל ‘tent’, בֹּהֶן ‘thumb’, אֹפֶן ‘circumstance’, אוֹצָר ‘store’, and similar cases, and the abstractions רוֹגֶז ‘anger’, חֹרֶב ‘desolation’, אֹמֶר ‘speech’, and so forth. This vowel is not found in (forms expressing) a patient. This category (of *rafʿ*) is used for agents, just as the Arabs use [their] *rafʿ* for agents. The Hebrews use it for forms other than those designating agents by extension, just as the Arabs use their *rafʿ* for forms other than those designating agents by extension, such as

לגה אלעבראני דכל תחתה נגמתאן והמא אוֹ ואוּ ואלנצב ידכל תחתה ג̇ נגמאת אלפתחה אלכברי והי אַ ואלפתחה אלוסטי והי אֶ ואלפתחה אלצגרי והי אָ ואלכפץ̇ ידכל תחתה נגמתאן והמא אֵי אִי ואלגזם הו אלשוָא אלסאכן והו אלגזם אלדי ללערבי ואלגזם אלאכר הו אלשוָא אלמתחרך והו אלדי דכרת אנה ינקסם ג̇ אקסאם וללשוא כלאם מפיד פיגי פי מוצ̇עה בעון אללה

**II.L.2.5. פצל**

אעלם אן אלקסם אלואחד מן אלרפע פי אללגה אלעבראניה אסתעמלוה פי תצאריף מכצוצה פי אלפאעל נחו בונֶה קונֶה ווזנהמא ואוֹכֵל ושֹׁמֵר ווזנהמא (L3:11v) ושֹׁמֵעַ ופֹתֵחַ ווזנהמא אלי גיר דלך ממא קד אסתעמל פי אלאמר ואלעבר מתל שׂוֹרֵף שׂוֹרַף ווזנהמא ואסתעמל פי אלאמר מן תצריף כּוֹנֶן נחו סֹב חֹן ואסתעמל פי אלעבר מן תצריף שירו נחו נוֹדַע נוֹשַׁע ואסתעמל פי אלאסמא אלגיר מתצרפה פי אלאגסאם ואלאעראץ̇ כקוֹ פי אלאגסאם אהֶל בהֶן אופֶן אוצֶר ואמתאל דלך ואלאעראץ̇ רוגֶז חרֶב אמֶר אלי גיר דלך ולא יוגד הדא אלמלך פי מפעול פקד צאר הדא אלקסם אלואחד יסתעמל פי אלפאעלין כמא אסתעמלו אלערב רפע[הם פ]י אלפאעלין ואסתעמלו אלעבראניין פי גיר אלפאעלין תוסעא כמא אסתעמלו אלערב רפעהם פי ג[יר] אלפאעלין תוסעא מן נחו אלאבתדא

topicalization, interrogative constructions, and so forth. Nobody can object to my statement that this category of *rafʿ* is not used in (a form expressing) a patient by saying that מְזֹרָ֣ה הָרָ֑שֶׁת 'the net is spread' (Prov. 1.17) is a patient and that it has been made a patient by *rafʿ*, i.e. אֹו. This is because my statement refers only to cases where this type of *rafʿ* occurs at the beginning of a word with the first letter but the *mem* in מְזֹרָ֣ה has been placed before the *rafʿ*, and it is for this reason that I have stated that this category of *rafʿ* is not found in a patient.

### II.L.2.6. Section on the Second *Rafʿ*

As for אֻ, the Hebrews use this in the imperative of (conjugations in the category) שׁוּעָל, as in שׁוּב, קוּם, and the like. They use it in a verb whose agent is not named (i.e. a passive verb), for example סֻפַּר, קֻבַּר, and the like. They use it in concrete and abstract nouns and in the names of people. An example of a personal name is וּפֻרָ֥ה נַעַרְךָ֖ 'and Purah, your servant' (Jud. 7.10). A concrete noun is פּוּרָ֣ה׀ דָּרַ֣כְתִּי 'I have trodden the wine press' (Isa. 63.3). An abstract noun is דוּמָ֣ה (Psa. 94.17, etc.), דֽוּמִיָּ֣ה (Psa. 22.3, etc.) 'silence'. To these can be added further examples.

### II.L.2.7. Section on *Naṣb*

#### II.L.2.7.1.

The small *naṣb*, which is *qameṣ*, like *naṣb* in the language of the Arabs, is used in (forms expressing) the patient, for example שָׁמוּר 'guarded', שָׁבוּר 'broken', זָכוּר 'remembered', בָּנוּי 'built', and the like. It is used in the 'absolute patient', i.e the infinitive, as in שָׁמוֹר 'guarding', זָכוֹר 'remembering', בָּנֹה 'building', עָשֹׂה 'doing', and the like. It is used in past verbs, such as שָׁמָר 'he built', בָּנָה 'he built', and the like. It is used in the form that expresses both the past and the active participle such as שָׁם, קָם and words with this pattern.

ואלאסתפהאם וגיר דלך וליס למעתרץ̇ אן יעתרץ̇ מא קלתה אן לא יוגד הדא אלרפע פי מפעול באן יקול אן מזוֹרָה הרשת מפעולה ובאלרפע צארת מפעולה והו אוֹ לאן אנמא כלאמי פי מא כאן הדא אלרפע פי אול לפט̇ה מע אלחרף אלאול ואלמאם פי מזורָה קד תקדם [אל]רפ[ע פלדל]ך קלת אנה לא יוגד פי מפעול מן הד[א אלקס]ם

### II.L.2.6. פצל [פי] אלרפע אלתאני

(L3:11r) אֻ אסתעמלוה אלעבראניין פי אלאמר מן שוּעָל נחו שוב קום ואמתאל דלך ואסתעמלוה פי אלפעל אלדי לם יסם פאעלה מתל סֵפַר קֻבַר ונחוהמא ואסתעמלוה פי אלאסמא אלגאמדה ואלאערא̇ץ ואסמא אלנאס פאסם אנסאן מתל ופוּרָה נערך ואלגמאד פוּרָה דרכתי ואלערץ̇ דוּמָה דומיה אלי גיר דלך

### II.L.2.7. פצל פי אלנצב

#### II.L.2.7.1.

אלנצב אלצגיר והו אלקאמצה תגרי מגרי אלנצב פי לגה אלערב יסתעמל פי אלמפעול כקׄ שָׁמוּר שָׁבוּר זָכוּר בָּנוּי [ואמ]תאלה ואסתעמל פי אלמפעול אלמטלק והו אלמצדר נחו שָׁמֹר זָכֹר בָּנֹה עָשֹׂה ואמתאל דלך יסתעמל פי אלאפעאל אלמאצ̇יה נחו שָׁמָר בָּנָה ואמתאלהמא ויסתעמל פי אללפט̇ה אלואחדה ללעבר ולאסם אלפאעל מתל שָׂם קָם ואוזאנהמא

**II.L.2.7.2.**

The 'big *naṣb*' is used in imperatives from (conjugations in the category) גַּנִּי, such as הַכֵּה 'hit', הַטֵּה 'incline', הַאֲכֵל 'feed', הַעֲמֵד 'cause to stand', and the like. It is used in 'transposed infinitives', such as דַּבֵּר 'speak', קַוֵּה לְשָׁלוֹם '(we) look for peace' (Jer. 8.15, etc.), and other forms expressed by this category of *naṣb*.

**II.L.2.7.3.**

The third (category of) *naṣb*, i.e. *segol*, is used in imperative forms such as הֶרֶף מִמֶּנִּי 'leave me alone' (Deut. 9.14), הֶרֶב כַּבְּסֵנִי 'wash me thoroughly' (Psa. 51.4). They use it in past forms such as הֶאֱכִיל 'he fed', הֶחֱזִיק 'he made strong', הֶחֱשׁוּ 'they were silent', and so forth.

**II.L.2.8. Section on *Khafḍ***

**II.L.2.8.1.**

The *khafḍ* vowel אֵי is used in past forms such as הֵקִים 'he caused to rise', הֵעִיד 'he bore witness'. It is used in a noun of agent (active participle) such as מֵקִים 'causing to rise', מֵעִיד 'bearing witness'. It is used in imperative forms substituting for the other category of *khafḍ* (i.e. *ḥireq*) when it is followed by one of the letters אהחע, as in הֵעָלוּ 'remove yourselves' (Num. 16.24), הֵרֹמּוּ מִתּוֹךְ 'remove yourselves from the midst' (Num. 17.10), and the like.

**II.L.2.8.2.**

The second category of *khafḍ*, i.e. אִי, is used in the past of all conjugations from the category גַּנִּי, for example הִכָּה 'he hit', הִצִּיל 'he saved', הִגַּשׁ 'he approached', הִנַּח 'he placed', גִּלָּה, 'he revealed', הִגְלָה 'he exiled', דִּבֶּר 'he spoke', בִּלַּע 'he swallowed', זִבַּח

**II.L.2.7.2.**

אלנצב אלכביר יסתעמלוה פי אלאואמר מן גַּנִּי נחו הכֵה הטֵה הַאֲכֵל הַעֲמֵד ונחו דלך ואסתעמלוה פי אלמצאדר אלמסתעארה נחו דבֵר קוֵּה לשלום אלי גיר דלך ממא יפידה הדא אלנצב

**II.L.2.7.3.**

אלנצב אלתאלת והו אלסגול אסתעמלוה (L5:19r) פי אלאמר נחו הֶרֶף ממני הֶרֶב כבסני (L3:7r) ואסתעמלוה פי אלעבר נחו הֶאֱכִיל הַחֲזִיק הַחֲשׁוּ אלי גיר דלך

**II.L.2.8. פצל פי אלכפץ̇**

**II.L.2.8.1.**

אלמלך אלדי ללכפץ̇ אֵי אסתעמלוה פי אלעבר נחו הֵקִים הֵעִיד ואסתעמלוה פי אסם אלפאעל נחו מֵקִים מֵעִיד ואסתעמלוה פי אלאמר נאיבא ען אלכפץ̇ אלאכר אדא כאן בעדה חרף מן חרוף אֹהֹחֹעֹ נחו הֵעָלו הֵרֹמו מתוך אלי גיר דלך

**II.L.2.8.2.**

אלכפץ̇ אלב̇ הו אִי אסתעמלוה פי אלעבר מן גַּנִּי פי ג̇מיע תצאריפהא נחו הִכָּה הִצִּיל הִגַּשׁ הִנַּח <גִּלָּה> הִגְלָה דִבַּר בִלַּע

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786 אֵי] אֵ L5:19r   790 אִי] אִ L5:19r   791 גִּלָּה] גַּלֵּה L3

‘he sacrificed’, נִחַם ‘he comforted’, הִשְׁלִיךְ ‘he threw’, הִשְׁלֵיךְ ‘he threw’, הִפְצַר ‘he pushed’, הִשְׂבִּיעַ ‘he sated’, בִּקְשָׁה ‘he sought’, הִדְרְכָה ‘he bent (bow)’, כִּרְבֵּל ‘he mantled’, תִּעְתֵּעַ ‘he mocked’, הִשְׂמְאִיל ‘he turned left’. It is used in the imperative of all conjugations in the category of שִׁירָה, for example שִׂים ‘place’, שִׂיחַ ‘tell’, הִכּוֹן ‘be prepared’, הִסּוֹעַ ‘?’, הִמַּק ‘decay’, הִבּוּךְ ‘be confused’. It is used in the imperative, the past and the active participle of most conjugations of the category מֵסַב, for example הִתְהַלֵּךְ, הִתְהַלַּךְ, מִתְהַלֵּךְ. These and others are examples of the use of *khafḍ*, *naṣb* and *rafʿ* in the Hebrew language.

### II.L.2.9. Section (Preliminary Remarks on the *Shewa*)

(What corresponds to Arabic) vowellessness (*jazm*) in the Hebrew language is the quiescent *shewa*. This is because the *shewa* falls into two categories, quiescent and mobile. The quiescent *shewa* is what deprives a letter of a vowel so that it is not mobile. The mobile *shewa* is additional to the (inventory of) vowels of the Arabic language, (the treatment of which) has various subsections.

### II.L.2.10. Section concerning the *Shewa*

#### II.L.2.10.1.

The *shewa* is divided into two categories, quiescent and mobile. There is no third category. The quiescent *shewa* has features by which it is distinguished from the mobile *shewa*. The mobile *shewa* has two features by which it is distinguished from the quiescent *shewa*.

#### II.L.2.10.2.

A feature of the quiescent *shewa* is that it makes a letter under which it occurs quiescent and makes it part of the preceding

זִבַּח נִחַם הִשְׁלִיךְ הִשְׁלֵיךְ הִפְצַר הִשְׁבִּיעַ בִּקְשָׁה הִדְרָכָה <כִרבֵל> תִּעְתֵּעַ הִשְׁמְאִיל ואסתעמלוה פי אלאמר מן שירה פי ג̇מיע תצאריפהא נחו שִׂים ושִׂיחַ והִכּוֹן והסוע והמק והבוך ואסתעמלוה פי אלאמר ואלעבר ואלפאעל מן עלאמה מֵסַב פי אכתר תצאריפהא נחו התהלֵך התהלַך מתהלֵך אלי ג̇יר דלך ממא אסתעמל אלכפץ̇ ואלנצב ואלרפע פי לגה אלעבראניה

**II.L.2.9.** (L5:20r) **פצל**

אלג̇זם פי לגה אלעבראני הו אלשוא אלסאכן לאן אלשוא עלי קסמין סאכן ומתחרך פאלסאכן הו אלדי יג̇זם אלחרף לילא יתחרך ואלמתחרך הו אלזאיד ען אנחא אללג̇ה אלערביה ולה פנון עדה

**II.L.2.10. פצל פי אלשוא**

**II.L.2.10.1.**

אלשוא ינקסם קסמין סאכן ומתחרך ולא קסם תאלת להמא פללסאכן עלאמאת יתמייז בהא מן אלמתחרך וללמתחרך עלאמתין יתמיז בהא מן (L5:20v) אלסאכן

**II.L.2.10.2.**

מן עלאמה אלסאכן אנה יסכן אלחרף אלדי הוא תחתה ויג̇עלה

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(syllabic) group, for example יִשְׂרָאֵל 'Israel', יֶחְדְּיָהוּ 'Jehdeiah', זִמְרִי 'Zimri', לְמִשְׁעִי 'for cleansing' (Ezek. 16.4), וּפִסְלִי וְנִסְכִּי 'my graven image and my molten image' (Isa. 48.5). So the letter under which the (quiescent) *shewa* occurs becomes quiescent. Whatever letter it occurs under is not mobile at all and it (the quiescent *shewa*) cuts it off from what is after it and conjoins it to what is before it.

**II.L.2.10.3.**

Another of it features is that it divides a word into (units) that have the status of words. This is because every letter at the end of a word is quiescent when it is deprived of an accompanying vowel and this letter that is deprived of a vowel is the stopping point of the word and its place of division, as in בְּרֵאשִׁית, in which the *tav* is the stopping point of the word, and אוֹר, in which the *resh* is the stopping point of the word, and so forth. A quiescent *shewa* in the middle of a word has the same status, for it is in a sense a stopping point on account of its quiescence, for example וְהָאֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים 'and the satraps' (Esther 9.3), הַמְצַפְצְפִים 'those who chirp' (Isa. 8.19). Each of these two expressions has the status of three words on account of the quiescent *shewa*. If it were absent, this division would not be admissible.

**II.L.2.10.4.**

Another of its features is that it indicates the feminine gender in many cases, for example, רָחַצְתְּ כָּחַלְתְּ 'you (fs.) washed and you painted (fs.) (your eyes)' (Ezek. 23.40), and similar cases. Forms such as דֶּרֶךְ and מֶלֶךְ are not counterevidence, since I did not say that it occurred at the end of a word only to express the feminine gender, but that it indicates feminine gender in many cases.

פי חזב מא תקדמה נחו יִשְׂרָאֵל יַחְדְיָהו זְמִרִי לְמִשְׁעִי וּפִסְלִי וּנְסְכִּי פצאר אלחרף אלדי תחתה אלשוא סאכנא לא יתחרך בתה מהמא הוא תחתה ופצלה ממא בעדה ואצ̇אפה אלי מא קבלה

**II.L.2.10.3.**

ומן עלאמאתה איצ̇א אנה יקסם אללפט̇ה מתאבה כלם לאן כל חרף פי אכר כלמה הו סאכן אדא ערי מן מלך יכון מעה פיכון דלך אלחרף אלעארי מן (L4:4r) מלך הו מחט אלכלמה ומקטעהא נחו בְרֵאשִׁית אלדי אלתו מחט אלכלמה ונחו אור אלדי אלריש מחט אלכלמה אלי גיר דלך פאלשוא אלסאכן פי וסט אלכלמה יגרי הדא אלמגרי לאנה קד צאר מחט עלי וגה לסכונה מתל והאחשדרפנים המצפצפים צארת כל לפט̇ה מן האתין אללפט̇תין במתאבה תלת כלם לאגל אלשוא אלסאכן ולו אנעדם לם תצח אלקסמה פיהא

**II.L.2.10.4.**

ומן עלאמאתה איצ̇א אנה ינבה עלי אלתאנית פי כתיר מן (L4:4v) אלמואצ̇ע נחו רָחַצְתְ כָחַלְתְ ומא מאתל דלך ולא יעתרץ̇ דלך דֶרֶך מֶלֶך לאני מא קלת אנה לא יכון פי אכר כלמה אלא ללתאנית ואנמא קלת אנה ינבה עלי אלתאנית פי כתיר מן אלמואצ̇ע

### II.L.2.11. Section (on the Nature of Mobile *Shewa*)

**II.L.2.11.1.**

A feature of mobile *shewa* is that when it occurs under a letter, the letter is not in any way static or at rest. If a speaker wished to make it quiescent, he would never speak, just as if a speaker wanted to always make a quiescent *shewa* mobile, ….

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**II.L.2.11.2.**

Another of its features is that it does not make the letter following it quiescent but rather only makes the third letter after it quiescent. This statement is valid since it (the mobile *shewa*) itself is not removed from under its letter but rather its letter is made mobile and the letter after it is made light (i.e. *rafe*). Quiescence may occur in the third letter or one greater (in number) than that. Examples of the occurrence of quiescence on the third letter are בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל 'in Israel', בְּיִזְרְעֶאל 'in Jezreel', לְיִרְמְיָה 'to Jeremiah' (Neh. 12.12, etc.). Examples (of quiescence) in a later syllable are בְּרֵאשִׁית 'in the beginning', בְּאֶרֶץ 'in the land (of)', בְּחֶרֶב 'with a sword', and similar cases.

**II.L.2.11.3.**

And if somebody were to say 'What are the full facts concerning the two of them, I mean the quiescent and the mobile *shewa*?', the response would be as follows. As for the quiescent *shewa*, I do not know any more of its distinctive features than those that I have already mentioned. With regard to the mobile *shewa*, it must be treated in various subsections. All the following subsections, therefore, concern the mobile *shewa* rather than

## II.L.2.11. פצל

**II.L.2.11.1.**

מן עלאמה אלמתחרך אנה אדא כאן תחת חרף לא יסתקר דלך אלחרף ולא יסכן בתה עלי וגה מן אלוגוה ולו ראם אלמתכלם אן יסכנה למא תכלם אבדא כמא אנה לו ראם אלמתכלם אן יחרך אלסאכן דאימא

GAP

**II.L.2.11.2.**

(L5:4r) ומן עלאמאתה איצ̇א אנה מא יסכן עלי אלחרף אלתאני מנה בל לא יסכן אלא עלי אלחרף אלתאלת הדא אלקול הו תג̇וז לאנה הו בעינה לא יברח מן תחת חרפה ואנמא יתחרך חרפה ויכף אלחרף אלדי בעדה פקד יקע אלסכון פי אלתאלת וקד יקע פי מא זאד ען דלך פתקול פימא וקע אלסכון פי אלתאלת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּיִזְרְעַאל לְיִרְמְיָה ומא זאד ען דלך מתל בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּאֶרֶץ בְּחֶרֶב ואמתאל דלך

**II.L.2.11.3.**

פאן (L5:4v) קאל פמא מחצ̇ה אלפאידה בהמא אעני אלסאכן ואלמתחרך קיל לה אמא אלסאכן פמא ערפת לה מן אלחט̇ אלא מא דכרתה מן עלאמאתה ואמא אלמתחרך פהו אלמפנן באלפנון פג̇מיע מא בעד מן אלפנון פהי ללמתחרך דון אלסאכן

the quiescent *shewa*. It is not necessary to mention the corresponding quiescent *shewa* in each place, since it is sufficient to say that the quiescent *shewa* does not have any more features than those that have been mentioned. I shall present below the various subsections concerning the mobile *shewa*.

## II.L.2.12. Chapter concerning the Mobile *Shewa* and what is Related to this

Take note that the inventory (of letters) consists of twenty-two basic letters, in addition to which there are the 'straight' letters, the letters with *rafe* and the letters 'between two grades', as has been stated previously. The discussion here relates only to basic features and not to secondary features.

### II.L.2.12.1. The First Subsection

#### II.L.2.12.1.1.

This is its influence by the four letters אהחע. When these four letters are preceded by a letter that is not one of them and under this letter there is *shewa*, the *shewa* is pronounced as a shortened vowel like the vowel that is under one of the four letters. Now, if it is appropriate for *gaʿya* to occur on it, it is pronounced equal to the vowel (following it). For example, וְאִם־כָּ֫כָה 'and if thus' (Num. 11.15), in which *shewa* is under *vav* and the *vav* is pronounced with *ḥireq* like that which is under the *ʾalef*, but shortened since it it does not have *gaʿya*. Surely you see that when it is appropriate for it to have *gaʿya*, it is pronounced with the (vowel) pronounced on the letter equally, without any difference, for example וְֽאִם־יִוָּתֵ֞ר 'and if there remains' (Exod. 29.34). Similar to the preceding examples are

פלא חאגֿה אלי דכר סאכן אלמתחרך פי כל מוצֿע אדֿ קד גנית בקולי אן מא ללסאכן פאידה גיר מא דכר מן עלאמאתה פאדכר מא יתגה מן פנון אלמתחרך

### II.L.2.12. באב פי (L5:5r) אלשוא אלמתחרך ומא יתצל בדלך

אעלם אן אלקבאלה אתנין עשרין חרפא אצולא מא סוי אלפשוטות ואלחרוף אלמרפיה ואלחרוף אלמנזלה בין מנזלתין כמא תקדם אלקול פיה ואלכלאם האהנא אנמא יתעלק באלאצול דון אלפרוע

#### II.L.2.12.1.

##### II.L.2.12.1.1.

אלפן אלאול הוא מא יחצל לה מן אלתאתיר פי ארבע חרוף אֹהֹחֹעֹ פאן הדה אלארבע חרוף אדא כאן קבל אחדהא חרף מן סואהא תחתה שוא כרגֿ דלך אלשוא בכרוגֿ (L5:5v) דלך אלמלך אלדי תחת אלארבעה חרוף מכפפא אלאן אן יחסן מעה דכול אלגעיה כרגֿ בכרוגֿ אלמלך סוא נחו וְאִם כָּבָה אלשוא תחת אלואו כרגֿ אלואו בחרק מתל מא תחת אלאלף מכפפא למא לם תכון מעה אלגעיה אלי תרי אן למא חסן מעה דכול אלגעיה כרגֿ בכרוגֿ אלחרף סוא מן גיר פרק כקו וֱאִם יִוָּתֵ֗ר ומתל אלדי תקדם

וְאֶת־תַּעְנַךְ 'and Taanach' (Jud. 1.27), וְאֶת־מְגִדּוֹ וְאֶת־גֶּ֑זֶר 'Megiddo and Gezer' (1 Kings 9.15), in which the *shewa* is pronounced as a shortened *segol*. When, however, you say וְֽאֶת־בָּנָ֑יו 'and his sons' (Gen. 9.1, etc.), the *shewa* is pronounced with a *segol* of full length on account of the *gaʿya*, and so also other cases where *shewa* is pronounced with the pointing of the *ʾalef*.

**II.L.2.12.1.2.**

As for *he*, a *shewa* before it is pronounced with the vowel of the *he*, for example in וְהָיָה the *shewa* is pronounced as a short *qameṣ* on account of the absence of *gaʿya*. When *gaʿya* is appropriate, the *shewa* is pronounced with the *qameṣ* of the *he* with its full length, for example וְֽהָיָה. In יְהוּדָה the *shewa* is pronounced with a shortened *qibbuṣ*, due to the absence of *gaʿya*, and other cases where *shewa* is pronounced like the pointing of the *he*.

**II.L.2.12.1.3.**

*Ḥet*: Examples of *shewa* before *ḥet* are רְֽחוֹקָה־הִ֑יא 'it is far' (Jdg 18.28), כִּ֩י ק֨וֹל כְּחוֹלָ֜ה 'for (I heard) the voice of a woman in travail' (Jer. 4.31), וְחָלָ֥ה חֶ֙רֶב֙ 'and the sword will rage' (Hosea 11.6), וְחֵ֤שֶׁב אֲפֻדָּתוֹ֙ 'and the skilfully woven band' (Exod. 28.8, etc.), וְחִכֵּ֕ךְ כְּיֵ֥ין הַטּ֛וֹב 'and your palate is the best of wine' (Cant. 7.10), and other cases.

**II.L.2.12.1.4.**

*ʿAyin*: Examples of *shewa* before *ʿayin* are בָּר֖וּךְ יְהוָ֥ה לְ֭עוֹלָם 'blessed be the Lord for ever' (Psa. 89.53), in which the *lamed* of לְ֭עוֹלָם is pronounced with a *ḥolem* like the *ʿayin* but shortened. When it is appropriate for it to have *gaʿya*, there is no difference between the *shewa* and the *ḥolem*, for example יְהִ֤י שְׁמ֨וֹ לְֽעוֹלָ֗ם 'may his

<וְאֶת> תענך וְאֶת מגדּו וְאֶת גזר כרג אלשוא בתלת נקט מכפפא ואדא קלת וֶאֶת בָּנָיו כרג אל (L4:1r) שוא בתלת נקט מסתופאה לאגל אלגעיה אלי גיר דלך ממא יכרג אלשוא בנקט אלאלף

**II.L.2.12.1.2.**

אלהא יכרג אלשוא אדא כאן קבלה באלמלך אלדי יתחרך אלהא כקוֹ וְהָיָה כרג אלשוא בקמצה כפיפה לעדם אלגעיה ואדא חסנת אלגעיה כרג אלשוא בקאמצה אלהא מסתופאה כקוֹ וֶהָיָה <ויְהודה> כרג אלשוא באלזֶג מכפפא לעדם אלגעיה אלי גיר דלך ממא [כ]רג אלשוא בנקט אלהא

**II.L.2.12.1.3.**

אלחית אלשוא קבל אלחית כקוֹ רֶחוֹקָה היא כי קו[ל כ]חולה (L4:1v) וְחָלָה חרב וְחֵשב אפדתו וְחִכֵּך כיין הטוב אלי גיר דלך

**II.L.2.12.1.4.**

אלעין אלשוא קבל אלעין ברוך ייי לְעוֹלָם כרג אללמאד מן לְעוֹלם [ב]חלם מתל אלעין מכפפא ולמא חסן מעה דכול אלגעיה לם יכון בין אלשוא ואלחלם פרק נחו יהי שמו לֶעוֹלם

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name be for ever' (Psa. 72.17). Similar cases are וְאִם֩ רַ֨ע בְּעֵינֵיכֶ֜ם 'and if it is bad in your eyes' (Josh. 24.15), בְּעֵינֵ֖י אֱלֹהִ֣ים 'in the eyes of God' (Prov. 3.4), וְאָדָ֣ם 'and a man' (Gen. 2.5, etc.), וְעָלָ֤ה הַגְּבוּל֙ 'and the boundary goes up' (Josh. 15.6, etc.), וְעֶפְר֥וֹן יֹשֵׁ֖ב 'and Ephron was sitting' (Gen. 23.10), וְעָרֵ֖י מִבְצָ֑ר 'and the fortified cities' (Josh. 19.35), and other cases.

**II.L.2.12.1.5.**

Now this rule applies to *shewa* with the four letters when *shewa* is under a letter that is not one of the four.

**II.L.2.12.1.6.**

When it is of one of the four, the rule does not apply, for example יִמְחֲאוּ־כָ֑ף 'let them clap their hands' (Psa. 98.8, etc.), אֱלָהֲהֹ֖ם דִּ֥י '(the house of) their God which' (Ezra 7.16). If it is said 'Why is it that these four letters differ in this way from the other letters when they come before (another of the four letters) and have *shewa*, and why does the rule not apply to all (letters)?', the response to him would be as follows. Since the letter (i.e. one of the אהחע letters) that is before the four letters requires a vowel together with *shewa* (i.e. a vowel represented by a *ḥaṭef* sign), the vowel (of the *ḥaṭef*) is dominant, so the *shewa* does not have any influence and the *ḥet* of יִמְחֲאוּ is pronounced with *pataḥ* and the *he* of אֱלָהֲהֹם is also pronounced with it. Moreover יִמְחֲאוּ cannot be pronounced with *pataḥ* and *shureq* and it is also not possible for it be pronounced with *shureq* and not *pataḥ*, for if it were pronounced with *shureq*, I mean *qibbuṣ*, there would be no reason for *pataḥ* to occur. Since these two situations are impossible, it must be pronounced with *pataḥ*, due to its natural association with it. What has been said concerning יִמְחֲאוּ־כָ֑ף applies equally to אֱלָהֲהֹם. If somebody says 'Why are the other

ומתלה ואם רע בְּעֵינֵיכֶם בְּעֵינֵי אלהים וְאָדָם וְעָלָה הגבול ועפרון

יושב וְעָרֵי מבצר אלי גיר דלך

**II.L.2.12.1.5.**

אלאן הדא אלשרט לאזם פי אלשוא מע אלארבע חרוף מתי כאן אלשוא תחת חרף מן סוי אל (L4:2r) ארבעה

**II.L.2.12.1.6.**

פאמא אן כאן מן אלארבעה בטל הדא אלשרט נחו קוֹ יִמְחָאוּ כף <אֲלָהְהֹוֹם די> פאן קיל ולם כאלפת הדה אלארבעה חרוף אדא כאנת קבל ותחתהא שוא לסאיר אלחרוף פי מא הדא סבילה ולם לא כאנת אלעלה סאירה פי אלכל קיל לה למא כאן אלחרף אלדי קבל אלארבעה מנהא אחתאג אלי מלך מע אלשוא פאלחכם ללמלך פלדלך לם יותר אלשוא אתרא פכרג חית יִמְחָאוּ באלפאתחה וכרג הֵא אלהְהֹוֹם בהַא איצׄא (L4:2v) ואסתחאל כרוג ימחאו באלפתחה ואלשרק ואמתנע איצׄא כרוגה באלשרק מן דון אלפתחה אד לו כרג באלשרק אעני באלזֵג לכאן לא פאידה פי מגי אלפתחה ולמא אמתנעא אלקסמאן וגב כרוגה באלפתחה לאכתצאצהא בה ואלכלאם פי אלהְהֹום כאלכלאם פי ימחאו כף סוא פאן קיל ולם לא כאן חכם

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letters not like these four letters when they are before the aforementioned (four letters), especially when every *shewa* under a letter must be pronounced as a vowel when …

GAP

**II.L.2.12.2. (The Second Subsection)**

**II.L.2.12.2.1.**

…. because *shewa* has not changed form but rather is adjacent to it, just as *qameṣ* is adjacent to *pataḥ* and other vowels. This is demonstrated by the fact that *mem* in לְיֵרְמְיָה ‘to Jeremiah’ has *shewa* under it and the *yod* after it has *qameṣ* under it, but the *shewa* is not pronounced like *qameṣ* but rather is pronounced like *ḥireq*, unlike the four letters. The *shewa* of the four letters is restricted by what is before it, but the *shewa* of *yod* is not restricted by what is after it. The difference, therefore, is clear between the two subsections.

**II.L.2.12.2.2.**

If somebody were to say ‘What is the value of us knowing this?’, the response to him would be as follows. When *shewa* comes before *yod*, in most cases this is an indication of the indefinite. If a vowel were to occur in place of it, this would be an indication of the definite, for example בְּי֥וֹם זִבְחֲכֶ֛ם ‘on the day of your sacrifice’ (Lev. 19.6), (which is) indefinite, and בַּיּ֣וֹם הַה֑וּא כֶּ֥רֶם ‘on that day, a vineyard’ (Isa. 27.2), (which is) definite, הָ֤פַךְ יָ֨ם ׀ לְֽיַבָּשָׁ֗ה ‘He turned the sea into dry land’ (Psa. 66.6), (which is) indefinite, בַּיַּבָּשָׁ֗ה עָבַ֣ר יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל ‘Israel passed on the dry land’ (Josh. 4.22), (which is) definite, and so forth.

בקיה אלחרוף כחכם הדה אלארבעה אדא כאנת קבל הדה אלמדכורה ולא סימא אן כל שוא תחת חרף יגב אן יכרג במלך מתי

GAP

**II.L.2.12.2.**

**II.L.2.12.2.1.**

(L3:3r)....לאן אלשוא מא גייר חכם בל גאורה כמא יגאור אלקמץ ללפאתחה וסואהא מן אלמלוך יביין דלך אן אלמאם מן לירמְיָה תחתה שוא ואליוד בעדה תחתה קמץ ולם יכרג אלשוא באלקאמצה בל כרג בחרק מכאלפא ללארבעה חרוף פשוא אלדׄ חרוף מקצור עלי מא קבלה ושוא אליוד גיר מקצור עלי מא בעדה פאלפרק טׄאהר בין אלפנין

**II.L.2.12.2.2.**

פאן קאל ומא אלפאידה פי מערפתנא דלך קיל לה אן אלשוא אדא כאן קבל אליוד פי אכתר אלמואצׄע יכון דלאלה עלי אלמנכּר ולו כאן עוצׄה מלך לכאן דלאלה עלי אלמְיֻדָּע כקׄ בְּיֹ֥ום זִבְחֲכֶ֫ם מְנֻכָּר בְּי֣וֹם הַהוּא כרם מְיֻדָּע הָפַךְ יָם לְיַבָּשָׁה מְנֻכָּר בַּיַּבָּשָׁה עָבַ֣ר יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל מְיוּדָּע ואמתאל דלך

### II.L.2.12.3. The Third Subsection

#### II.L.2.12.3.1.

The remainder of the inventory of letters amounts to seventeen letters. If *yod* (which has been discussed above) is added to them, they come to eighteen letters. *Shewa* under these eighteen letters is pronounced as a short *pataḥ*. Examples of cases in which it is not appropriate for *gaʿya* to occur include בְּרָב־עָ֑ם ‘in a multitude of people’ (Prov. 14.28), גְּרֻשֹׁתֵיכֶ֔ם ‘your evictions’ (Ezek. 45.9), דְּרָכָ֥יו רָאִ֖יתִי ‘I have seen his ways’ (Isa. 57.18), וְרֹאשׁ־עֹרֵ֣ב ‘and the head of Oreb’ (Jud. 7.25), זְכוֹר־יְהוָ֥ה ‘remember, oh Lord’ (Psa. 132.1), טְמֵאַ֣ת הַשֵּׁ֔ם ‘unclean of name’ (Ezek. 22.5), יְרְא֤וּ אֶת־יְהוָה֙ ‘fear the Lord’ (Jos. 24.14), and other cases with these eighteen letters. If one were to say ‘Tell me about the *shewa* that is pronounced as *pataḥ* under these eighteen letters. Is it substituting for another (pronunciation), or is it alone the pronunciation that is the rule under the letters to the exclusion of any other, or is this pronunciation together with another the rule under them, or what is the situation concerning this?’, the response to him would be as follows. These letters are pronounced as *pataḥ*. It is a feature of this *pataḥ* that it is only pronounced short. *Shewa* is the only way to represent this shortness. Since according to their principles *shewa* is not combined with a vowel under these eighteen letters, they marked the *shewa* alone. It was not possible for them to mark the *pataḥ* by itself, since it would have been pronounced as a full vowel.

#### II.L.2.12.3.2.

If one were to say ‘According to this statement, when a *shewa* occurs under these eighteen letters it is only pronounced as short *pataḥ*, but we seen a contradiction of this in cases such as כְּשִׂמְחָתְךָ֫ לְנַחֲלַ֣ת בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל ‘As you rejoiced over the inheritance of

### II.L.2.12.3. פנא תאלתא

#### II.L.2.12.3.1.

אלבאקי מן חרוף אלקבאלה יׄזׄ חרף ותעוד אליהא אליוד תציר יׄחׄ חרפא [פה]דא יׄחׄ חרפא יכרג אלשוא תחתהא בפאתחה [כפיפה] ומא לא יחסן מעהא דכול געיה כקֹ בְּרָב עָם [גרש]ותיכם דְּרָכיו ראיתי וְרֹאש עֹרֵב וּזְאֵב זְכוֹר יְיָ טְמֵאת השֵׁם יִרְאוּ את יְיָ אלי גיר דלך מן הדה (L3:3v) אליׄחׄ חרפא פאן קאל כברני ען אלשוא אלדי יכרג בפאתחה תחת הדה אלחרוף אליׄחׄ הו נאיב ען גירה אם הו וחדה באלואגב תחת הדה אלחרוף דון גירה אם הו וגירה באלואגב תחתהא אם כיף אלחאל פי דלך קיל לה אן הדה אלחרוף נטקהא אלפאתחה ומן חכם הדה אלפאתחה אלמדכורה לא תכון אלא כפיפה ולא וגה לכפתהא גיר אלשוא ולמא לם יכון אלשוא פי אצולהם יגתמע מע מלך תחת הדה אליׄחׄ חרפא געלו אלשוא פקט ולם ימכן אן יגעלו אלפאתחה (L4:5r) וחדהא לאנהא תגי מסתופאה

#### II.L.2.12.3.2.

פאן קאל אן עלי הדא אלקול אן הדה אליׄחׄ חרפא מתי כאן תחתהא שוא לא יכרג אלא בפאתחה כפיפה ונחן נרי כלאף דלך כקוֹ כְּשִׂמחתך לְנַחֲלַת בית ישראל אלדי אללמאד מן

the house of Israel' (Ezek. 35.15), in which the *lamed* of לְנַחְלַ֫ת is 'heavy', the response to him would be that what makes the *lamed* heavy is the *gaʿya*, for this is the only thing that can change the form of the vocalic pronunciation of the *shewa*.[12] If he says '(Why) have they not marked a *pataḥ* where the *gaʿya* occurs to express heaviness and a *shewa* where there is shortness?', the response to him would be as follows. It is not permissible to mark a *pataḥ* where (the *shewa* is pronounced with) heaviness, because the rule regarding the marking of *shewa* and *pataḥ* on these eighteen letters is that the *pataḥ* alone does not indicate *shewa* but *shewa* alone indicates *pataḥ*. Furthermore if they marked *pataḥ* where there is heaviness, that would make it unclear as to whether the following letter had *dagesh* or not, since one of the features of *pataḥ* is that in many places it is followed by *dagesh* to express definiteness, for example הַנֹּגֵ֫עַ בָּאִ֫ישׁ הַזֶּ֫ה 'whoever touches this man' (Gen. 26.11), בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא 'on that day', and so forth. A mobile *shewa* can never be followed by *dagesh* in the reading of Scripture, except in שְׁתַּיִם and שְׁתֵּי. In the discussion concerning these below, however, I shall explain that the *shewa* in these two words is quiescent and not mobile.

**II.L.2.12.3.3.**

Furthermore, *gaʿya* is not obligatory under a letter as a vowel and *shewa* are obligatory, because *gaʿya* is only an exhalation of air in speech, and its elision is possible. The reader chooses in his reading (whether to pronounce it or not). There are some places, however, in which the speaker does not have a choice,

[12] The extant model manuscripts L, A and C do not have *gaʿya* on the *shewa* here: L לְנַחְלַ֫ת; A, C לְנַחֲלַ֫ת. Moreover in the available manuscripts of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* a *gaʿya* sign is not marked.

לנחלת תקיל קיל לה אן אלדי תקל ללמאד אלגעיה אד ליס תם שי יג̇ייר חכם תחריך אלשוא סואהא פאן קאל והלא געלו מוצ̇ע אלגעיה אלתי תג̇י ללתתקיל פאתחה ומוצ̇ע אלתכפיף שוא קיל לה לא (L4:5v) יגוז אן יכון מוצ̇ע אלתתקיל פאתחה לאן אלואגב ללחרף מן הדה אלי̇ח̇ אלשוא ואלפאתחה פאלפאתחה וחדהא לא תדל עלי אלשוא ואלשוא וחדה ידל עלי אלפאתחה ואיצ̇א פאן לו געלו אלפאתחה מוצ̇ע אלתתקיל לאשכל דלך פי אן אלחרף אלתאני מנה מדגוש או גיר מדגוש לאן מן בעץ̇ אחכאם אלפאתחה פי כתיר מן אלמואצ̇ע אן יג̇י בעדהא אלדגש ללתעריף כקו̇ הַנּוֹגֵעַ בא̇ הז̇ בַּיּוֹם ההוא ואמתאלהמא (L4:6r) ואלשוא אלמתחרך לא יכון בעדה דגש אבדא פי אלמקרא אלא שְתים ושְתי ועלי מא יג̇י אלכלאם עליהמא פי מא בעד ואביין אן אלשוא פיהמא הו סאכן וליס הו מתחרך

**II.L.2.12.3.3.**

ואיצ̇א פאן אלגעיה ליסת הי באלואגב תחת אלחרוף כמא יגב ללמלך ואלשוא לאן אלגעיה אנמא הי תנפס פי אלכלאם פחדפהא ממכן ואלקאר מכייר פי קראתהא אלא פי מואצ̇ע ליס

for example כִּ֤י לֹ֣א יִ֭שְׁנוּ אִם־לֹ֣א יָרֵ֑עוּ ‘for they do not sleep unless they do wrong’ (Prov. 4.16), because the *gaʿya* makes it into the lexical class of ‘slumber and sleep’. If it were lacking, it would be from the lexical class of repeating, as in שְׁנוּ֙ וַיִּשְׁנ֔וּ ‘“Do it a second time” and they did it a second time’ (1 Kings 18.34). This applies also to the lexical classes of ‘fearing’ and ‘seeing’. The lexical class of ‘fearing’ has *gaʿya*, for example יִֽירְא֣וּ מֵ֭יְהוָה ‘Let them fear the Lord’ (Psa. 33.8). Although here it has two *yods*, there is potential doubt in cases such as יִרְא֤וּ גוֹיִם֙ וְיֵבֹ֔שׁוּ ‘The nations will see and be ashamed’ (Micah 7.16). If this is the case, the occurrence of *gaʿya* in the lexical class of ‘fearing’ prevents it. To these can be added further examples in which the reader does not have a choice. Cases in which the reader does have a choice include וֶֽהָיְתָה—וְהָיְתָה, וֶֽהָיָה—וְהָיָה, and the like. Such cases do not attain the status of the vowels and the *shewa*, because the construction of a word is based on the vowels. Its construction is not based on the *gaʿya*. For this reason the scholars of language in this discipline say ‘The *gaʿya* has no principle’. For these reasons, when there is a need for lengthening, you mark a *gaʿya* with *shewa* and you do not mark *pataḥ* by itself. This is the appropriate response to the question.

### II.L.2.12.4. The Fourth Subsection

#### II.L.2.12.4.1.

When *shewa* is under a letter, it is not possible for any of the disjunctive or conjunctive accents to be under this letter, so long as *shewa* is under it, since it is a principle of *shewa* that it does not combine with an accent on a letter in any circumstances. If

אלקאר פיהא מכייר נחו כי לא יֵשנו אִם לא יָרֵעו לאן אלגעיה (L4:6v) געלתהא מן לגה אלסנה ואלנום ולולאהא לצארת מן לגה אלתניה כקוֹ שנו וישנו ומתל דלך לגה אלכשיה ואלנט̇ר אלדי לגה אלכשיה בגעיה כקוֹ < יֵיראו > מיי ואן כאנת ביודין פלא יומן מן חצול אלאלתבאס פי מתל יראו גוים ויבשו פאן וקע כאן תבות אלגעיה פי לגה אלכשיה תמנע מנה אלי גיר דלך ממא לא ימכן אלקאר אלכיאר פיה וממא ימכן אלקאר אלכיאר פיה וְהָיָה וֶהָיָה וְהָיְתָה וֶהָיְתָה ואמתאל ד̇ פמא כאן הדא סבילה לא יבלג מבלג (L5:6r) אלמלוך ואלשוא לאן בניה אלכלאם עלי אלחרכאת וליס בניתה עלי אלגעיה ולדלך יקולון אהל אללגה אלדי להדא אלעלם אין אב ללגעיה פמן אגל הדה אלוג̇וה אדא אחתיג̇ אלי אלתתקיל געלת אלגעיה מע אלשוא ולא תגעל פאתחה וחדהא והדא אלדי לאח פי ג̇ואב הדה אלמסלה

**II.L.2.12.4. פנא ד̇**

**II.L.2.12.4.1.**

אלשוא אדא כאנת תחת חרף אמתנע אן יכון תחת דלך אלחרף שיא מן אלאלחאן ואלכדאם מהמא אלשוא תחתה לאן מן חכם אלשוא אלא יג̇תמע הו וטעם (L5:6v) פי חרף בתה פאן קאל ולם

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somebody says: 'Why is that, when you have not denied that the combination of a *shewa* and an accent on the same letter is possible, although we do not find them combined?', the response to him would be as follows. Even if the *shewa* of both categories, i.e. quiescent and mobile, were to combine (with an accent), the combination of an accent with quiescent *shewa* could not take place, since it is the principle of the quiescent *shewa* that it makes the letter quiescent and does not move at all, as is the case with the *resh* in כַּרְמִי, the *mem* in זִמְרִי and the *bet* in עַבְדִּי. A disjunctive accent and a conjunctive accent by their nature cause the letter to move (with a vowel) and introduce a melody or melodies in it. A quiescent letter cannot have a melody at all. A melody is movement, so how can a quiescent *shewa* be also mobile at the same time? Is this not a contradiction? So this is impossible.

**II.L.2.12.4.2.**

If somebody were to say 'Although the combination of an accent with a quiescent *shewa* is impossible, it would be permissible for one to be combined with mobile *shewa*, because there is no contradiction', the response to him would be as follows. The statement that an accent moves a letter with a vowel does not imply that its movement is like that of *shewa*. This is because *shewa* makes a letter mobile, but causes its articulation to be quick, so that one cannot tarry on the letter, like the *bet* in בְּרֵאשִׁית 'in the beginning', since it is not permissible to hold onto it when the speaker wishes to express his intention. Likewise *dalet* in דְּרוֹר 'liberty', and the *ṣade* in צְרוֹר 'bundle', in which the *shewa* causes the letter to move quickly with a speed that does not allow tarrying on it. This is not the case with an accent, which, rather, causes the letter to have a vowel and introduces melodies into it. The letter is given a vowel in its place without moving back or forward so long as it is given a melody. Surely

דלך ומא אנכרת אן אג̇תמאע אלשוא ואלטעם פי חרף ואחד יצח ואן כאן לא נראהמא מג̇תמעין קיל לה לו אגתמע אלשוא מן אלקסמין אלמדכורין והמא אלסאכן ואלמתחרך פאג̇תמאעה מע אלסאכן לא יתם לאן אלסאכן מן חכמה אן יסכן אלחרף ולא יצ̇טרב בתה כאלריש מן כרְמי ואלמאם מן זמְרי ואלבא מן עבְדי ואללחן ואלכאדם מן שאנהמא (L5:7r) אן יחרכא אלחרף ויגעלא פיה נגמה ונגמאת ואלחרף אלסאכן לא יצח פיה נגמה בתה ואלנגמה הי אלחרכה פכיף יכון אלסאכן מתחרכא פי חאל ואחד פאליס הדא מנאקצ̇ה פקד אסתחאל דלך

**II.L.2.12.4.2.**

פאן קאל אדא כאן קד אסתחאל אג̇תמאע אללחן מע אלשוא אלסאכן פיגוז אג̇תמאעה מע אלשוא אלמתחרך לאן מא תם מנאקצ̇ה קיל לה ליס אלקול באן אללחן יחרך אלחרף יקתצ̇י אן תכון חרכתה כחרכה (L5:7v) אלשוא ודאך אן אלשוא יחרך אלחרף ויסרע בנטקה חתי לא ימכן אחד אן ילבת בדלך אלחרף כאלבא מן בראשית אדי לא יצח מסכה וללמתכלם גרצ̇א פי אלכלאם וכדלך אלדאל מן דרור ואלצאד מן צרור פאלשוא יסרע באלחרף סרעה לא ימכן אלתבאת מעהא וליס כדלך אללחן בל הו יחרך אלחרף ויגעל פיה נגמאת ואלחרף פי מוצ̇עה יתחרך לא ירג̇ע אלי כלף ולא אלי קדאם מהמא אלחרף ינגם

you see how it (the accent) gives the *resh* a melody in וַֽיְמַהֲר֞וּ ‘they made haste’ (Josh. 8.14) and the letter does not move from its place. The accent has given it a melody, or two or more. One does not tarry on the *dalet* in דְּרוֹר and the like (with *shewa*) in the way one tarries on the *resh* or the *kaf* in וַֽיְמַהֲר֞וּ וַיַּשְׁכִּ֠ימוּ ‘They made haste and rose early’ (Josh. 8.14). The *shewa* moves quickly forwards whereas an accent causes vocalic movement within its place. If these were to combine there would be a logical contradiction. It is, therefore, clear from this that *shewa* and an accent cannot combine together in a single letter.

**II.L.2.12.5. The Fifth Subsection**

A mobile *shewa* is not followed by a letter with *dagesh*, for example כְּכַלּ֣וֹת ‘on finishing’ (Deut. 31.24, etc.), בְּבֹאָ֣ם ‘when they enter’ (Exod. 28.43, etc.), פְּנוֹת֙ אֶל־הַמִּנְחָ֔ה ‘regarding the offering’ (Mal. 2.13), בְּכָל ‘in all’, and the like. This is not contradicted by שְׁתַּיִם and שְׁתֵּי. For if there is an added *ʾalef* and you say [ʔɛʃˈtʰaːjim] and [ʔɛʃˈtʰeː], the *shewa* becomes quiescent. I shall discuss this at greater length in the section concerning *yetiv* with the help of God and His good will. If one were to say ‘Why is *shewa* not followed by a letter with *dagesh*?’, the response to him would be as follows. The principle of *dagesh* is to make a letter heavy and give it a kind of quiescence. A mobile *shewa* is not dwelt upon and so the letter that is after it must be light. When the letter that is after it is heavy, it is not possible to give it the mobility to the extent that I have mentioned.

**II.L.2.12.6. The Sixth Subsection**

Mobile *shewa* does not combine with a vowel on a letter of the alphabet with the exception of the four letters אהחע, for example אֲנִ֥י יְהוָ֖ה ה֣וּא שְׁמִ֑י ‘I am the Lord, that is my name’ (Isa. 42.8), הֲלֹ֨א

אלי תרי כיף ינגם אלריש (L5:8r) מן וַיְמַהֲרוּ֮ ואלחרף מן מוצֿעה מא ברח וקד חרכה נגמה ותנתין ומא זאד ואלדאל מן דרור ומא מאתלה לא ילבתה לבת אלריש ואלכאף פי וַיְמַהֲרוּ֮ וַיַּשְׁכִּ֮ימוּ פצאר אלשוא יתחרך בסרעה אלי קדאם ואללחן יחרך פי אלמוצֿע בעינה פלו אגֿמתע לכאן דלך מתנאקצֿא פבאן מן דלך אן שוא ולחן לא יגתמעא פי חרף ואחד מעא

**II.L.2.12.5. פנא הֹ**

אלשוא אלמתחרך לא יכון בעדה חרף דגש כקוֹ כְּכַ֫לּוֹת בְּבֹאָ֑ם פְּנוּת אל המנחה (L5:8v) בְּכָ֑ל ואמתאל דֹלך ולא יעתרץֿ דלך שְׁתַ֫יִם וּשְׁתֵּי פאן תם אלף מסתעאר פאדא קלת שְׁתַ֫יִם שְׁתֵּי צאר אלשוא סאכן ואנא אסתופי אלכלאם פיה פי לחן אליתיב בעון אללה ומשיתה פאן קאל לם לא יכון בעד אלשוא חרף דגש קיל לה אן מן חכם אלדגש אן יתקל אלחרף ויגֿעל פיה צֿרבא מן אלתסכין ואלשוא אלמתחרך פלא ילבת פיחתאגֿ אן יכון אלחרף אלדי בעדה כפיפא פמתי כאן אלחרף אלדי בעדה תקיל לם ימכן תחריכה עלי אלחד אלדי דכרתה

**II.L.2.12.6. (L5:9r) פנא וֹ**

אלשוא אלמתחרך לא יגתמע מע מלך פי חרף מן חרוף אלף בית אלא פי ארבע חרוף אֹהֹחֹעֹ כקוֹ אֲנִי ייי הוא שמי הֲלֹא הֽוּא

הֲ֨וּא ‘did he not?’ (Gen. 20.5), וַחֲנֵ֥ה ‘and encamp’ (2 Sam. 12.28), עֲלֽוּ־אֵלַ֣י וְעִזְר֔נִי ‘Come up to me and help me’ (Josh. 10.4), and similar cases. If one were to say ‘Is not *shewa* combined with *qameṣ* under the *dalet* of מָרְדֳּכַי, under the *qof* with *qameṣ* in קֳדָם ‘before’, קֳדָמֵיהוֹן ‘before them’, under the *mem* with *qameṣ* in מֳשְׁכ֥וּ אוֹתָ֖הּ ‘drag her!’ (Ezek. 32.20) and under the *bet* with *segol* in דִּֽי־אֲנָ֥ה בֱנַיְתַ֖הּ ‘which I built’ (Dan. 4.27)?’, the response to him would be as follows. This does not contradict what I stated. This is because the people responsible for this matter have agreed on the rule of combining *shewa* and a vowel only under the four letters. It is said, however, that some scribes wanted to remove uncertainty from places that may lead to error and have combined a vowel with *shewa* in this way, because they thought that people would err in the reading of מָרְדֳּכַי. When some people saw *shewa* without *qameṣ* in מָרְדְּכַי, they read it as *pataḥ*. If they saw *qameṣ* alone, they were at risk of giving the *qameṣ* its full length. So, the scribes decided to combine them so that this degree of uncertainty be removed. This applied also to similar cases (cited above). This is an exception to their customary practice. What supports the claim that this is the view of only some of them with regard to letters not belonging to the group of the four (אהחע) is that in most codices one does not find what has been presented as counterevidence, but all codices are uniform in the combination of *shewa* with a vowel under the four letters.

### II.L.2.12.7. The Seventh Subsection

When *shewa* is combined with a vowel in a letter, the vowel is deprived of its full length, as in חֳרֶ֥ם וּבֵית־עֲנָ֖ת ‘Ḥorem and Betanath’ (Josh. 19.38), in which the *ḥet* is pronounced with a short vowel on account of the *shewa* that is with the *qameṣ*. The same applies to גַּ֤ם כָּל־חֳלִי֙ ‘also every sickness’ (Deut. 28.61), in which *shewa* is combined with the vowel and the vowel has

וַחֲנֵה עֱלוּ אלי ועזׄ ואמׄ דלך פאן קאל אליס קד אגׄתמע אלשוא ואלקמץ תחת אלדאל מן מָרְדֱּכי ותחת אלקוף מע אלקמץ מן קֱדָם קֱדָמֵיהון ותחת אלמאם מע אלקמץ מן מֱשכו אותה ותחת אלבא פי די אֲנָה בֱּנֲיְתָה מע אלסגולה קיל לה ליס דלך בנאקץׄ למא דכרתה ודלך אן אהל הדא אלשאן אצטלחו אן לא יגׄמעו (L5:9v) אלשוא ואלמלך אלא תחת הדה אלארבעה חרוף ואנמא קיל אן בעץׄ אלסופרים אראד אן ירפע אלאשכאל מן אלמואצׄע אלמגלטה פגמע אלמלך מע אלשוא להדא אלוגה לאנה ראי אלנאס יגלטו פי קראה מרדכי פמנהם מן אדא ראי אלשוא בלא קאמצה קראהא מפתוחה ואן ראי אלקאמצה וחדהא לם יאמן אן יסתופי אלקאמצה פראי אן יגׄמעהמא חתי ירפע הדא אלקדר מן אלאשכאל וכדלך מא מאתלה והדא כארגׄ ען סננהם ואלדי יקוי אן (L5:10r) הדא ראי אלבעץׄ מנהם פי גיר אלארבעה חרוף הו אן אכתר אלמצאחף לא יוגד פיהא מא אעתרץׄ בה אלמעתרץׄ ואלמצאחף כלהא מטבקה עלי גמע אלשוא ואלמלך תחת הדה אלדׄ חרוף

**II.L.2.12.7. פנא זׄ**

אלשוא אדא אגׄתמע מע מלך פי חרף סלב אלמלך חטׄה מן אן יסתופא כקוׄ חֱרֵם ובית עֲנָת גׄא אלחית כפיפא לאגׄל אלשוא אלדי מע אלקאמצה וכדלך גֶם כָּל חֱלי גׄא אלשוא מע אלמלך

become short. If it were said ‘Why is it that when *shewa* is combined with a vowel under a letter, the vowel is deprived of its full quantity?’ the response would be as follows. This is because when there is mobile *shewa*, it is not permissible to slow down on or dwell on the letter. This is a principle that cannot be avoided. When they both occur under a letter, its principle holds, namely moving forward quickly, and so it is not possible for the vowel to be given its full quantity. This is determined by the principle of the *shewa*. If somebody were to say ‘Just as the *shewa* has an unavoidable principle, likewise a vowel has an indissoluble feature, namely slowness and steadiness, so why is the vowel not more worthy of fulfilling its principle than something else?’, the response to him would be as follows. If they wanted to maintain the principle of the vowel, they would not have combined it with *shewa,* since that would be nonsense. Rather they combined them in order for the principle of the vowel to be eliminated. The combination of the two principles is impossible, just as is the elimination of the two principles. It is necessary to maintain one of them, and this is the principle of the *shewa*. If somebody were to say ‘With how many vowels does *shewa* combine?’, the response would be: with three, *qameṣ*, *pataḥ* and *segol*. If he said ‘Why is it combined specifically with these three and not the others?’, the response would be: because with these three vowels it is permissible to melodize, pause and read quickly, whereas this is not possible with the other vowels.

כאן אלמלך כפיפא פאן קאל ולם כאן אדא (L5:10v) אגׄתמע אלשוא מע מלך תחת חרף סלב דלך אלמלך חטׄה קיל לה לאן אלשוא אלמתחרך לא יצח פיה אלתבאטי ואללבת פי אלחרף והדה עלה לא יצח אנפכאכה מנהא פאדא חצלא גׄמיעא תחת חרף תבתת עלתה והי אלנהוץׄ בסרעה פלא ימכן אלמלך אן יסתופי חטׄה פיכון דלך מקצׄא לעלה אלשוא פאן קיל כמא אן ללשוא עלה לא תפארקה כדלך ללמלך עלה לא תפארקה והי אלתבאטי ואלתבאת פלם לא כאן אלמלך (L5:11r) באסתיפא עלתה אולי מן סואה קיל לה לו אראדו אן יתבתו עלה אלמלך לם יגׄמעו מעה אלשוא אד כאן דלך עבת ואנמא גׄמעוהא לתזול עלה אלמלך ואגׄתמאע אלעלתין מסתחיל ואנתפא אלעלתין כדלך פלא בד מן תבות אחדהמא והי עלה אלשוא פאן קיל פמע כם מן אלמלוך תגׄתמע אלשוא קיל לה מע תלאת אלקאמצה ואלפאתחה ואלסגולה פאן קאל ולם אכתץ בהדה אלתלתה דון סואהא קיל לה לאן הדה (L5:11v) אלתלתה יצח פיהא פי אלתנגׄים אלתוקף ואלסרעה ומא סואהם לא יתם פיה דלך

### II.L.2.12.8. The Eighth Subsection

**II.L.2.12.8.1.**

When *shewa* is at the beginning of a word, it is always mobile, for example דְּבַר־מִ֥י יָק֖וּם 'the word of whom will stand' (Jer. 44.28), לְעֶת־י֣וֹם בְּי֔וֹם 'from day to day' (1 Chron. 12.23), כְּרִשְׁי֛וֹן כּ֥וֹרֶשׁ 'according to the permission of Cyrus' (Ezra 3.7), כְּחֹ֥ם הַיּֽוֹם 'in the heat of the day' (Gen. 18.1), and similar cases. If somebody were to say 'Why have you claimed that quiescent *shewa* never occurs at the beginning of a word?', the response would be that a quiescent *shewa* is the stopping point of what precedes it, and the beginning of a word has nothing before it, as the *ʾalef* in אִ֛ישׁ הָיָ֥ה בְאֶֽרֶץ־ע֖וּץ 'There was a man in the land of Uz' (Job 1.1) and the *shin* in שָׁמַ֣יִם לָ֭רוּם וָאָ֣רֶץ לָעֹ֑מֶק 'the heavens for height, and the earth for depth' (Prov. 25.3), and similar cases. And if somebody said 'Do you not say that every *shewa* beginning a word is mobile, but we find a mobile *shewa* that is not word-initial, for example וְהַֽמְאַסֵּ֗ף 'and the rear guard' (Josh. 6.9, etc.), וְסֲגַ֖ר פֻּ֣ם 'He has shut the mouth' (Dan. 6.23), וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ 'and they heard', וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ 'and they lay down'?', the response to him would be as follows. When I said that every *shewa* at the beginning of a word is mobile, this does not oblige me to claim that a mobile *shewa* is found only in word-initial position. Indeed a mobile *shewa* may be in the middle of a word. This claim would, however, be contradicted if a *shewa* that is not mobile is found in word-initial position. Yet in the examples that I have adduced, and others like them, they are in initial position in the sense that they are preceded by quiescence and a stopping point.

**II.L.2.12.8. פנא ח׳**

**II.L.2.12.8.1.**

אלשוא אדא כאן פי אול אלכלאם אבדא יכון מתחרך כקו׳ דְבַר מִי יָקוּם לְעֵת יוֹם בְיוֹם כְּרִשְׁיוֹן כּוֹרש כְּחֹם היום אלי גיר דלך פאן קאל ולם זעמת אן אלשוא אלסאכן לא יכון פי אואיל אלכלם אבדא קיל לה אן אלסאכן הו מחט למא תקדמה ואבתדא אלכלאם לא יכון קבלה שי כאלאלף מן איש היה בארץ עוץ ואלשין מן שמים (L5:12r) לָרום וָאָרץ לָעומק אלי גיר דלך פאן קאל אליס תקול אן כל מבתדא מתחרך ונחן נגׄד אלמתחרך פי גיר אלמבתדא כקו׳ וְהַמְאַסף וסגר פֶּם וַיִּשְׁמעו וַיִּשְׁכבו קיל לה ליס אדא קלת אן כל שוא פי בדו אלכלאם מתחרך ילזמני אלא יכון מתחרך אלא פי אלאבתדי בל קד יכון פי אלתוסט מתחרך ואנמא כאן יעתרץׄ דלך לו וגׄד שוא פי אלאבתדא גיר מתחרך ומע דלך אן אלמואצׄע אלדי דכרתהא ומא מאתלהא פהי כדלך מבתדאה עלי (L5:12v) וגה מן חית אן קבלהא סכון ומחט

### II.L.2.12.8.2.

If somebody were to say ‘So do you say that a letter by itself can have the status of a word and have mobility and quiescence, but this is a contradiction with regard to a single letter, so according to this וּסְגַר could not have a mobile *shewa* until the *shewa* becomes mobile after quiescence, as you say?’, the response would be as follows. The stopping point may be a quiescent *shewa* after a mobile letter, as in וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ, and the like. It may also be what is analagous to it and may be called a stopping point, namely the introduction of heaviness to a letter. This may cause (the following *shewa*) to be mobile, as in וּֽשֲׁבֵ֥ה שֶׁבְיְךָ֖ ‘and capture your captives!’ (Jud. 5.12), in which the heaviness of the *vav* has the status of a word with two letters, so the *shewa* is mobile on account of this. The heaviness of the letter corresponds to quiescence of a *shewa* and becomes a stopping point, as in הֵ֗ם הַֽמְדַבְּרִים֙ ‘the ones who speak’ (Exod. 6.27), and similar cases, as will be explained in the discussion about *he* and *mem* below.

### II.L.2.12.9. The Ninth Subsection

A mobile *shewa* is followed by quiescence only in a letter that is not less than the third letter after it. Quiescence in a letter that is greater (in number than the third) is possible, but the minimum for quiescence is the third (letter after the mobile *shewa*), as in לְיָשְׁבְּקָ֫שָׁה ‘to Joshbekashah’ (1 Chron 25.24), לְיָקְמְעָם ‘to Jokmeam’ (1 Kings 4.12), and the like. Examples of quiescence in a letter that is greater than the third (after the mobile *shewa*) are אֱלֹהִים ‘God’, בְּרוֹשִׁים ‘cypresses’, and the like. If somebody were to say ‘Do not שָׁמְרָ֣ה נַ֭פְשִׁי וְהַצִּילֵ֑נִי ‘Guard my life and deliver me’ (Psa. 25.20), מָשְׁכ֥וּ אוֹתָ֖הּ ‘Draw her down’ (Ezek.

**II.L.2.12.8.2.**

פאן קאל אפתקול אן אלחרף וחדה יקום מקאם לפטֹה פיכון פיה אלתחריך ואלסכון והדה מנאקצֹה פי אלחרף אלואחד פלא יגֹוז על הדא אן יכון וּסְגר <מתחרך> חתי יתחרך אלשוא בעד אלסכון עלי קולך קיל לה אן אלמחט קד יכון סאכן בעד מתחרך מתל קוֹ וישמעו ונחוה וקד יכון מא יגֹרי מגֹראה יסמי מחט והו אלתקיל פי חרף ואחד פאנה קד יחרך כקוֹ וְשבֵה שִׁבְיךָ פצאר אלתקיל פי (L5:13r) אלואו ינוב מנאב לפטֹה פיהא חרפין פיתחרך אלשוא לדלך אלתקיל מן דלך אלחרף לסכן אלשוא וצאר מחט מתל הֵם הַמְדברים ונחוה עלי מא יגֹי אלכלאם פי הֵא ומאם משרוחא מן בעד

**II.L.2.12.9. פנא טֹ**

אלשוא אלמתחרך לא יכון בעדה סכון אלי אקל מן אלחרף אלתאלת ומא זאד ען דלך ממכן לכן אקל מא יכון מן אלסכון עלי אלתאלת כקוֹ לְיָשְׁבקָשָׁה לְיָקמעָם ונחוה ואמא מא זאד על אלתאלת פי אלסכון מתל אלהִים בְרוֹשִׁים ונחוהמא (L5:13v) פאן קאל אליס שָׁמְרָה נפשי והצילני ומשכו אותה ומא גֹרי

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32.20) and analogous cases refute the principle that you have formulated?', the response to him would be as follows. I spoke only about *shewa* that is present under a letter. Cases of shortness and lightness that have been transmitted by teaching from the people of the language are not relevant for this argument.

### II.L.2.12.10. The Tenth Subsection

Mobile *shewa* does not occur adjacent to another mobile *shewa* at the beginning, middle or end of a word, for if they were adjacent, the word would be defective. This is because a word must consist of a letter with a vowel and what is attached to the letter with a vowel by way of an initial mobile *shewa* is of a lesser vowel movement than the following vowel. These two may be followed by a quiescent consonant. This structure cannot be broken. Therefore, two mobile *shewa*s are not linked together, as two quiescent *shewa*s are.

### II.L.2.12.11. The Eleventh Subsection

Two quiescent *shewa*s cannot follow one another at the beginning of a word or in the middle of it. If somebody were to say 'Why is this so?', the response to him would be: because the first *shewa* is quiescent on account of it being the stopping point of what precedes it. The second *shewa,* however, is not preceded by a letter with a vowel, for which the second *shewa* would be a stopping point. For this reason, two quiescent *shewa*s are not linked together in the places mentioned.

### II.L.2.12.12. The Twelfth Subsection

When there are two *shewa*s following one another, a sequence in which the first is mobile and the second quiescent is not permissible, rather the first must be made quiescent and the

מג̇ראהמא קד ינקץ̇ מא בניתה מן הדא אלאצל קיל לה אנמא תכלמת פי אלשוא אלחאצ̇ר תחת אלחרף ואמא מא תסלם כטפה וכפתה מן אהל אללגה תלקינא לם יכון פי הדא אלכלאם פי שי

**II.L.2.12.10. פנא י̇**

שוא מתחרך לא יג̇אור שוא מתחרך לא פי אול אלכלאם ולא פי וסטה ולא פי אכרה לאן לו תגאורא לאנפסד אלכלאם ודאך אן אלכלאם אנמא יכון מתחרך (L5:14r) ומא ילחק אלמתחרך פהו אקל חרכה מן אלמתחרך אדא אבתדאה באלשוא ואלסאכן קד יתבעהמא והדה בניה לא יג̇וז נקצ̇הא פלדלך לם יקתרנא מתחרכין כמא יקתרנא אלסאכנין

**II.L.2.12.11. פנא יא̇**

שְׁוָאֵין סאכנין לא יג̇וז תראדפהמא לא פי אול אלכלאם ולא פי וסטה פאן קאל ולם כאן דלך קיל לה לאן אלשוא אלאול אנמא סכן לכונה מחט למא תקדמה ואלתאני פלם יתקדמה חרף מתחרך פיכון אלתאני מחט לה פלדלך לם (L5:14v) יקתרנא אלסאכנין פי אלמוצ̇עין אלמדכורין

**II.L.2.12.12. פנא יב̇**

שְׁוָאֵין מתראדפין אלאול מתחרך ואלתאני סאכן לא יג̇וז תראדפהמא אלא אן יכון אלאול ללסאכן ואלתאני ללמתחרך

second mobile. If somebody were to say 'Why is that?', the response to him would be as follows. When the first *shewa* is mobile, it is not permissible for it to be followed by a quiescent letter, because if that were the case, the mobile *shewa* would not have scope to spring forward quickly. It has been stated previously that quiescence cannot occur on less than the third letter after a mobile *shewa*. Furthermore it is not possible to pronounce a mobile *shewa* followed by a quiescent *shewa* for the reason just mentioned, whereas a pronunciation of a quiescent *shewa* in the first letter and a mobile *shewa* on the second letter is acceptable, as in וַיִּקְבְּצוּ 'and they gathered', and the like. Take note that *shewa* may be construed as a successive sequence (of two) even though only one is written. This applies to cases such as מִזְּעֹ֖ק 'from crying' (1 Sam. 7.8), מְזַבְּחִים 'sacrificing', מְחַלְּלִ֣ים 'playing the pipe' (1 Kings 1.40, etc.), מִמְּלֹ֖ךְ 'from being king' (1 Sam. 8.7, etc.). The *shewa* here is pronounced mobile. The reason for this is that the letter is pronounced as two letters. This is the custom of Hebrew, namely that every letter with strengthening, I mean with *dagesh*, in the middle of a word, where it does not have the status of beginning (a word or syllable), under which there is *shewa*, is pronounced as two letters. This is shown by הַכְּמ֥וֹת נָבָ֖ל 'Is it like a fool?' (2 Sam. 3.33) in that the *kaf* in הַכְּמ֥וֹת is pronounced as two *kaf*s, and so in other cases. The *dagesh* on the letter, therefore, is in place of the quiescent *shewa* and the *shewa* that is present under the letter is mobile, and so it is pronounced as two letters.

### II.L.2.12.13. The Thirteenth Subsection

A *shewa* at the end of a word can only be quiescent, as in דֶּ֫רֶךְ 'way', מֶ֫לֶךְ 'king', and the like.

פאן קיל ולם דלך קיל לה אדא כאן אלשוא אלאול מתחרך לא יג̇וז יכון בעדה חרפא סאכנא לאנה אן כאן דלך לא יציב אלמתחרך פסחה ללנהוץ̇ וקד תקדם אלכלאם אן לא יכון בעד אלשוא אלמתחרך סכון פי אקל מן אלחרף (L5:15r) אלתאלת ואיצ̇א פאן אלמתחרך ובעדה אלסאכן לא יצח אלנטק בהמא עלי אלוג̇ה אלמדכור בל אלנטק באלסאכן פי אלאול ואלמתחרך פי אלתאני מפהומא מתל ויקְבְצו ונחוה ואעלם אן תם שוא בניתה עלי אלתראדף ואן כאן ליס אלא ואחד מכתוב והו נחו קוֹ מִזְעוֹק מזבְחים מחלְלים ממלוך פאן אלשוא כרג̇ כאלמתחרך ואלסבב פי דלך לאן אלחרף כרג̇ בחרפין פהדה סירה פי אלעבראני והו אן כל חרף משדד (L5:15v) אעני מדגוש פי וסט כלמה בחית לא יג̇רי מג̇רי אבתדא ותחתה שוא יכרג̇ בחרפין יביין דלך קוֹ הכְמוֹת נָבָל והו אן אלכאף פי הכמות כרג̇ בכאפין אלי גיר דלך פיכון אלדגש פי אלחרף מקאם אלשוא אלסאכן ויכון אלשוא אלחאצ̇ר תחת אלחרף מתחרך ולדלך כרג̇ בחרפין

**II.L.2.12.13. פנא יג̇**

אלשוא פי אכר אלכלאם לא יכון אלא סאכנא נחו דרך מלך ואמתאלהמא

### II.L.2.12.14. The Fourteenth Subsection

Two successive silent *shewa*s occur only at the end of a word, as in יֹשַׁבְתְּ֙ בַּלְּבָנ֔וֹן מְקֻנַּ֖נְתְּ בָּאֲרָזִ֑ים 'inhabitant of Lebanon, nested among the cedars' (Jer. 22.23), חֻתָּֽלְתְּ 'you were swathed in bands' (Ezek. 16.4), כָּחַ֥לְתְּ 'you painted (your eyes)' (Ezek. 23.40), and similar examples. A *shewa* at the end of a word indicates feminine gender in many cases, both when following (another *shewa*) and also when not in such a sequence. In some cases *shewa* does not indicate feminine gender but rather pause, as in וַיִּ֥שְׁבְּ׀ מִמֶּ֖נּוּ 'and he took captives from him' (Num. 21.1), וְיֵ֖רְדְּ מִֽיַּעֲקֹ֑ב 'and out of Jacob shall one have dominion' (Num. 24.19). If somebody were to say 'What is the value of the two successive *shewa*s at the end of a word?', the response would be as follows. One is a stopping point, namely the first one, as in וְיָשַׁבְתְּ֙ עַל־מִטָּ֣ה כְבוּדָּ֔ה 'and you sat on a stately couch' (Ezek. 23.41). The *bet* in וְיָשַׁבְ is the end of a word expressing the masculine singular. The second *shewa* under the *tav* indicates the feminine gender. You will find this practice in many places.

### II.L.2.13. Section (concerning Uncertainty regarding the Reading of the *Shewa*)

#### II.L.2.13.1.

The *shewa* may be the cause of uncertainty for the reader in some places as to whether it is mobile or quiescent. (This applies to) הַמְ. It has been stated previously that in words containing not more than five letters the *shewa* is mobile, as in הַֽמְסֻכָּ֣ן תְּרוּמָ֔ה 'he who is impoverished in respect to offering' (Isa. 40.20), הַֽמְדַבֵּ֥ר 'the one speaking' (Gen. 45.12, etc.), except for one case, namely הַמְשֻׁגָּ֥ע הַזֶּ֖ה 'this madman' (2 Kings 9.11). The reason why it is not mobile is that there is no heaviness in the *he*. If you were to give heaviness to the *he*, the *shewa* would be

### **II.L.2.12.14. פנא יׄדׄ**

שְׁוָאֵין מתראדפין סאכנין לא יכונא אלא פי אכר אלכלאם כקוֹ יוֹשֶׁבְתְּ (L5:16r) בלבנון מְקֻנֶּנְתְּ בארזים חֲתָלְתְּ כָּחַלְתְּ ואמתאל דׄ ואלשוא פי אכר אלכלאם קד ידל עלי אלמונת פי אכתר אלמואצׄע פי אלתראדף וגיר אלתראדף ותם שוא לא ידל עלי אלמונת בל עלי קטע כקוֹ וַיִּשְׁבְּ ממנו ויֵּרֶדְ מיעׄ פאן קאל ומא אלפאידה פי אלשואין אלמתראדפין פי אכר אלכלאם קיל לה אלואחד מחט והו אלאול כקוֹ וְיָשַׁבְתְּ על מטה כבודה פאלבא מן וְיָשַׁבְ הו נהאיה כלמה ללמדכר ואלשוא אלבׄ אלדי תחת אלתו דאל עלי אל (L5:16v) תאנית והדה אלסירה תגדהא פי כתיר מן אלמואצׄע

## **II.L.2.13. פצל**

**II.L.2.13.1.**

אלשוא קד ישכל פי מואצׄע עלי אלקאר הל הו מתחרך אם הו סאכן הַמְ וקד תקדם אלקול אן מא כאן מן אלכלם אלדי עדד חרופהא כמסה לא אזיד פאן אלשוא יכון מתחרך נחו הַמְסֻכָּן תרומה הַמְדַבֵּר מא סוי מוצׄע ואחד והו הַמְשֻׁגָּע הזה ואלסבב פי אנהא לם תתחרך אן ליס פי אלהא תתקיל ולו תקלת אלהא

made mobile. As for words beginning with *he* and *mem* that have more than five letters, the rule concerning these is that if the accent is on the fifth letter or later, the *shewa* is silent, for example הַֽמְדַבְּרִים֙ 'those who speak' (Exod. 6.27), הַֽמְאָרֲרִ֑ים 'those who curse' (Num. 5.19), apart from some exceptions that deviate from this rule, for example הַֽמְבַקְשִׁ֖ים 'those who seek' (Exod. 4.19, etc.), and the like. When the accent is on the fourth letter, the *shewa* is mobile, for example, הַֽמְחַכִּ֣ים 'those who wait' (Job 3.21), הַֽמְנַדִּ֖ים 'those who remove' (Amos 6.3), and the like.

**II.L.2.13.2.**

As for a series of two successive identical letters in the middle of a word that one may be uncertain about, this has been discussed above. The (reading of the *shewa*) is determined by heaviness in it, for example וּֽלְלַמְּדָ֥ם סֵ֛פֶר 'and to teach them the writing' (Dan. 1.4). If the heaviness was removed from the *vav*, the *shewa* would not be pronounced like *pataḥ*. There are six words that deviate from this rule, namely אָ֣ז יִ֭קְרָאֻנְנִי 'Then they will call upon me' (Prov. 1.28), יְ֝שַׁחֲרֻ֗נְנִי וְלֹ֣א יִמְצָאֻֽנְנִי 'They will seek me diligently but will not find me' (Prov. 1.28), בַּצַּ֥ר לָ֝הֶ֗ם יְשַׁחֲרֻֽנְנִי 'and in their distress they seek me' (Hos. 5.15), וּ֝מְשַׁחֲרַ֗י יִמְצָאֻֽנְנִי 'and those who seek me diligently find me' (Prov. 8.17), זֹבֵ֥חַ תּוֹדָה֮ יְֽכַבְּדָ֫נְנִי 'He who brings thanksgiving as his sacrifice honours me' (Psa. 50.23).

**II.L.2.13.3.**

As for what can cause uncertainty in forms such as וּֽזֲהַ֛ב 'and the gold of' (Gen. 2.12), וּֽסֲגַ֖ר 'and he closed' (Dan. 6.23), it may be said concerning cases that are linked to what follows by the accent, such as וּֽדְמֵה־לְךָ֤ לִצְבִ֗י 'and resemble a gazelle' (Cant. 8.14), that since *maqqef* occurs on וּֽדְמֵה, the *shewa* is quiescent, but if

לתחרך אלשוא ואמא מא יזיד ען כמסה חרוף מן אלכלם (L2:6r) אלתי אולהא הֵא ומֵאם פאלשרט פי דלך הו אן אן כאן אללחן עלי אלחרף אלהֹ ומא זאד כאן אלשוא סאכן מתל הַמְדַבְּרִים הַמְאָרְרִים אלא שואד כארג ען דלך מתל הַמְבַקְשִׁים ונחוה ואדא כאן אללחן עלי אלחרף אלדֹ כאן אלשוא מתחרך (L7:1v) מתל הַמֲחַכִים הַמֲנַדִּים ונחוהמא

**II.L.2.13.2.**

ואמא מא ילתבס מן אלחרפין אלמתראדפין פי וסט אלכלאם פקד תקדם אלקול פיה איצֹא והו אן אלתתקיל שרט פיה כקוֹ וּלֲלַמְדָם סֵפֶר ולו זאל אלתתקיל מן אלואו לם יפתח אלשוא ואלדי כרג ען דלך סת לפטֹאת והי אָז יִקְרָאוּנְנִי יְשַׁחֲרוּנְנִי ולא יִמְצָאוּנְנִי בצר להם יְשַׁחרוּנְנִי ומשח[רי י]מְצָאוּנְנִי זבח תודה יְכַבְדָנְנִי

**II.L.2.13.3.**

ואמא מא < ילתבס וישכל > מן גנס וְזֲהַב וְסֲגַר אן קד יקאל פי מא אתצל במא בעדה באללחן מתל וְדְמֵה לְךָ לצבי אן למא חצל אלמקף פי ודמה סכן אלשוא ואן לו כאן פיה טעם תחרך

1123 ילתבס וישכל] L2:6v שאכל L7:1v

there were an accent on it, the *shewa* would be mobile, as in וְּשֲׁבֵ֥ה שֶׁבְיְךָ֖ בֶּן־אֲבִינֹֽעַם ‘Capture your captives, son of Abinoam’ (Jud. 5.12). As for what is separated (by the accent), like וְּסֲגַ֖ר ‘and he closed’ (Dan. 6.23), the heaviness has caused the *shewa* to be mobile. There are also some cases that are only learnt by listening.

GAP

**II.L.2.14. (Section on the Names of the Vowels)**

[…] the teeth make a squeaking sound with it.

The seventh is *shureq* [ ] three dots (written) obliquely. It may be replaced by one dot in the middle of *vav*, whose name is *shureq*, which is derived from לִשְׁמֹ֖עַ שְׁרִקֹ֣ות עֲדָרִ֑ים ‘to hear the whistlings of the flocks’ (Jud. 5.16), which is a whistling, because it gathers the lips together.

**II.L.2.15. Section on their Place of Articulation**

**II.L.2.15.1.**

The place of articulation of *ḥolem* is the root of the tongue and the place of swallowing, which is the place of articulation of אֹהֹחֹעֹ, and it moves over the surface of the entire mouth. Take note that if somebody were to investigate carefully their places of articulation, he would have something like the knowledge necessary as to what is first in position and what is last.

אלשוא (L2:6v) מתל קולה וּשְׁבֶה שְׁבִיָךְ בן אבי נעם ואמא מא כאן מנפרדא מתל קולה וּסְגַר פאלתתקיל סבב פי אלתחריך ותם מא לא יוכד אלא סמאעא

GAP

**II.L.2.14.**

(L8:101r) תצר בהא אלאסנאן צרא

ואלסאבע שרק [ ] תלתה נקט מוארבה וקד יכון עוצׄהא נקטה [ואחדה] פי קלב אלואו אסמוהא שרק ואשתקוה מן שריקות עדרים והו אלצפיר לאנהא תגׄמע אלשפתין

## II.L.2.15. פצל פי מחלהא

**II.L.2.15.1.**

[מחל] אלחלם עקר הלשון ובית הבליעה [והו מחל] אׄהׄחׄעׄ ומסירה עלי סטח אלפם כלה ואעלם [מן] תאמל מחאלהא צארת לה כאלעלם אלצׄרורי לה מן דלך אי מא הו אלמתקדם מנהא ואי מ[א הו] אלמתאכר

**II.L.2.15.2.**

The second place of articulation is the place of articulation of *qameṣ*. It is slightly above the root of the tongue, this being the (first) third of the tongue, and its movement is to above the palate.

**II.L.2.15.3.**

The third place of articulation is the place of articulation of *pataḥ*, which is the surface of the tongue at the bottom (of the mouth).

**II.L.2.15.4.**

The fourth place of articulation is the place of articulation of *segol*, which is the sides of the mouth, and its movement is upon the lower surface of the mouth.

**II.L.2.15.5.**

The fifth place of articulation is the place of articulation of *ṣere*, which is the teeth, without closure, because it breaks through them.

**II.L.2.15.6.**

The sixth place of articulation is the place of articulation of *ḥireq*, which is the closure of the teeth with force.

**II.L.2.15.7.**

The seventh place of articulation is the place of articulation of *shureq*, which is the lips gathered together (as if for) whistling.

**II.L.2.15.2.**

אלתאני מחל אלקאמצה והו פוק אצל אללסאן קלילא והו תלת אללסאן וחרכתהא אלי פוק אלחנך

**II.L.2.15.3.**

(L6:1r) ואלמחל אלתאלת מחל אלפאתחה והו סטח אללסאן מן אספל

**II.L.2.15.4.**

ואלמחל אלראבע הו מחל אלסגולה והו אגנאב אלפם וחרכתהא עלי סטח אלפם אלספלאני

**II.L.2.15.5.**

ואלמחל אלכאמס הו מחל אלצירי והו אלאסנאן בלא אטבאק לאנה ישק בינהא שקא

**II.L.2.15.6.**

ואלמחל אלסאדס מחל אלחרק והו אטבאק אלאסנאן בקוה

**II.L.2.15.7.**

אלמחל אלסאבע מחל אלשרק והו אלשפתין מצֿמומתין כאלצפיר

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1145 בינהא] בין אלאסנאן L8:101v

### II.L.2.16. Section concerning Combinations of them (i.e. the Vowels) to Form Basic Nouns and Combinations of them to Form Abstractions

For example, אוֹנֹ֔וֹ ‘Ono (place name)’ (1 Chron. 8.12, etc.), a basic noun (combining) *ḥolem* with *ḥolem* and the abstraction אוֹר֑וֹ ‘his light’ (Job 36.30, etc.). *Ḥolem* with *qameṣ*: the abstraction טוֹבָ֤ה ‘good deed’ (1 Sam. 24.19, etc.). *Ḥolem* with *pataḥ*: the basic noun רֹ֖מַח ‘spear’ (Num. 25.7, etc.) and the abstraction הוֹדַ֤ע ‘he made known’ (Lev. 4.23, etc.). *Ḥolem* with *segol*: the basic noun אֹהֶל ‘tent’ and the abstraction וַיֹּאמֶר. *Ḥolem* with *ṣere*: the basic noun בּוֹצֵ֔ץ ‘Bozez (name of a crag)’ (1 Sam. 14.4) and the abstraction יוֹצֵא ‘goes out’. *Ḥolem* with *ḥireq*: basic noun דֳּפִי ‘fault’ (Psa. 50.20) and the abstraction עוֹשִׂים ‘doing (mpl.)’. *Ḥolem* with *shureq*: the basic noun תֹּהוּ ‘confusion’ and the abstraction טֹּובוּ ‘they are good’ (cf. Num. 24.5, etc.). To these can be added further examples of this type of (arrangement of vowels), the seven with the seven.

### II.L.2.17. Chapter concerning the Descending of the Vowels from One to the Other according to the Order of their Places of Articulation

*Ḥolem* descends to *qameṣ* with the attachment of a pronoun and the plural, for example כֹּפֶר ‘ransom’—כָּפְרוֹ ‘his ransom’, עֹשֶׁר ‘wealth’—עָשְׁרוֹ ‘his wealth’, קֹדֶשׁ ‘holiness’—קָדְשׁוֹ ‘his holiness’, גֹּבַהּ ‘height’—גָּבְהוֹ ‘his height’. If you form a plural, you say קָדָשִׁים ‘holinesses’. From *qameṣ* to *pataḥ*: חָדָשׁ ‘new’—חֲדָשִׁים֙ לַבְּקָרִ֔ים ‘new (pl.) in every morning’ (Lam. 3.23), עָנָן ‘cloud’—עֲנָנִים ‘clouds’. From *pataḥ* to *segol*: they say אֶמְצָאֲךָ֤ בַחוּץ֙ ‘I meet you outside’ (Cant. 8.1)—כִּ֥י לֹ֖א יִמְצָאֶֽכָּה ‘that he does not find you’ (1 Kings 18.10). From *segol* to *ṣere* in a conjoined form, for example

## II.L.2.16. פצל אלדי יתלף מנהא אסאס ואלדי יתלף מנהא ערץ׳

מת׳ אוֹנוֹ אסאס ח׳לם מע חלם וערץ׳ אוֹרוֹ חלם מע קאמצה ערץ׳ טוֹבָה אלחלם מע פאתחה אסאס <רוֹמַח> וערץ׳ הוֹדַע אלח׳לם מע אלסגולה אסאס אהל וערץ׳ ויאמֶר אלח׳לם מע אלצרי אסאס בוֹצֵץ וערץ׳ יוֹצֵא אלחלם מע אלחרק אסאס דוֹפִי <וערץ׳> עוֹשִׂים אלחלם מע אלשרק אסאס ת׳הוּ וערץ׳ טוֹבוּ אלי גיר דלך מן צ׳רבהא סבעה פי סבעה

## II.L.2.17. באב פי אנחדאר אלמלוך בעצ׳הא אלי בעץ׳ עלי תרתיב מחאלהא

אלחלם ינחדר אלי אלקמץ ענד אתצאל אלצ׳מיר ואלגמע נחו כֹּפֶר כָּפְרוֹ עֹשֶׁר עָשרוֹ קֹדֶש קָדשוֹ גֹּבֶה גבהו ואן גמעת קלת קָדָשִׁים מן קאמצה אלי פאתחה חָדָש חֲדָשִׁים לבקרים עָנָן עֲנָנִים ומן פאתחה אלי סגולה קאלו אֲמִצָּאךְ בחוץ כי לא ימצאֶך ומן סגולה (L6:1v) אלי צֵרִי פי אלסמוך מתל ק׳ שֶׁבֶר תחת על שֵׁבֶר

1151 רוֹמַח] L8:101v רוֹמַה L6:1r  1153 וערץ׳²] וערץ׳ וערץ L6

שֶׁ֣בֶר תַּ֣חַת ‘fracture for (fracture)’ (Lev. 24.20)—עַל־שֵׁ֥בֶר יוֹסֵֽף ‘over the ruin of Joseph’ (Amos 6.6). To these can be added other cases of vowels descending from one to the other in this way.

**II.L.2.18. (On the Origin of the Vowels)**

If somebody were to ask ‘With regard to the form of these vowels, what is the origin of their formation? Do you say that the scribes established their form?’ The response would be as follows. If the scribes were the source of this, it would be permissible for somebody who was not satisfied with it to come and create different forms. This would be permissible for every single scribe. There would be no limit or end to their forms. If one were to say ‘Is not the *qameṣ* of the people of Iraq a superscribed half *ʾalef*, and so forth with regard to the shape of their vowels?’, the response would be as follows. What should be relied upon in this regard is (the shape of vowels) in the Holy Land. It is not implausible that when the people of the exile moved away from the Holy Land they made a record of their reading and created shapes (of vowels) when they had moved away from the Holy Land for fear that they would forget the reading. The (original) shapes (of the vowels) of the Holy Land, however, remained. If somebody were to say ‘So who formed them?’, the response to him would be as follows. It is possible that the people of the language formed the shapes of the vowels just as they formed the shapes of the letters. It is also possible that the people of the language used to use them in conversation without their knowing any (written) form for them until the time of Habakkuk, peace be upon him, when God said to him כְּתֹ֣וב חָזֹ֔ון וּבָאֵ֖ר עַל־הַלֻּחֹ֑ות ‘Write the vision; make it plain upon tablets’ (Hab. 2.2). He indicated the reason for this, namely לְמַ֥עַן

יֹוסֵף אלי גיר דלך ממא תנחדר מן בעץׄ אלי בעץׄ עלי הדא אלוגה

**II.L.2.18.**

פאן קאל אשכאל הדה אלמלוך כיף כאן אצל תשאכילהא אתקולון אן אלסופרים וצׄעו אשכאלהא קיל לה לו כאן אלסופרים הם אלאצל פי דלך לכאן יגוז אן יגי מן לם ירץׄ בדלך וישכל אשכאלא סואהא וכאן יצח הדא מן כל סופר וסופר פלא כאן יכון לאשכאלהא לא חד ולא אנקצׄא פאן קאל אליס אהל אלעראק קאמצתהם נצף אלף מן פוק אלי גיר דׄ מן אשכאל אנחאיהם קיל לה אן אלמעול פי דלך עלי ארץ הקדושה ומא ימתנע אן למא בעדו אהל אלגולה ען ארץ הקדושה צׄבטו קראתהם פגעלו להם אשכאל למא בעדו ען ארץ ישראל כוף מן אן ינסו אלקראה ובקית אשכאל ארץ הקׄ פאן קאל פמן שכלהא קיל לה יגוז אן <אהל> אללגה כמא שכלו אשכאל אלחרוף שכלו ללמלוך איצׄא אשכאל ויגוז איצׄא אן אהל אללגה כאנו יתכאטבו בהא מן גיר שכל יערפוה להא אלי זמאן חבקוק עׄ אׄ פקאל לה אללה כתוב חָזון ובָאֵר על הלוחות ואורא אלעלה פי דלך והו למען ירוץ קורא בו ולא שך אן מן אכד מצחאפא

1175 אהל] *omitted* L6

יָ֣רוּץ קוֹרֵ֣א בֽוֹ 'so that one who reads it can run' (Hab. 2.2). Indeed, there is no doubt that when somebody takes a simple codex without accents or pointing, he stumbles in the reading and does not 'run', apart from a few exceptional people that are found in some generations, such as Ben Asher and Ben Naftali in their time and those like them. If a reader has a codex in which the cantillation and pointing are clearly indicated, he can run and not stumble.

This is what needs to be said, but God knows best. The discourse is finished.

סאדגא בגיר לחן ולא <נקט> אנה יִכָּשֵׁל פי אלקראה ולא יָרוּץ אלא אחאד שואד קלאיל יוגדו פי בעץ̇ אלאגיאל כאבן אָשֵׁר ואבן נפתָלִי (L6:2r) פי זמאנהמא ומן גרי מגראהמא ואדא כאן ללקאר מצחף ט̇אהר אללחן <ואלנקט> הו יָרוּץ ולא יִכָּשֵׁל

הדא מא לאח ואללה אעלם ותמת אלמקאלה

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1180 נקט] נטק L6   1183 ואלנקט] אלנטק L8:57r L6

## II.L.3.0.
## THE THIRD DISCOURSE: ON THE ACCENTS (SELECTED PASSAGES)

### II.L.3.1. (On the *Gaʿya*)

If somebody were to say ‘So, what do you say concerning the *gaʿya*?’, the response to him would be as follows. The *gaʿya* does not have a definite status in the reading of Scripture. One reader may omit it and another reader may sustain it. There are some places, however, in which it may not be omitted, since it affects the meaning. This applies to the lexical class of ‘fearing’, and so they have said ‘Every (form from) the lexical class of ‘fearing’ has *gaʿya*’. Likewise one says תְּֽשְׁנוּ ‘you sleep’, יְֽשְׁנוּ ‘they sleep’, with *gaʿya*, from the lexical class of ‘sleeping’, כִּ֤י לֹ֣א יִֽ֭שְׁנוּ אִם־לֹ֣א יָרֵ֑עוּ ‘for they cannot sleep unless they have done wrong’ (Prov. 4.16). If it is without *gaʿya*, it is from (the lexical class) of ‘repeating’, as in אִם־תִּשְׁנּ֔וּ יָ֖ד אֶשְׁלַ֣ח בָּכֶ֑ם ‘If you do so again, I will lay hands on you’ (Neh. 13.21). If somebody were to say ‘So do you consider it to be one of the conjunctive accents or disjunctive accents?’, the response to him would be as follows. It should not be considered to belong either with the disjunctive accents or the conjunctive accents, since it is only an exhalation in speech, which carries the words forward, and joins and binds them with one another, as in לְבִלְתִּ֖י הַשְׁחִ֥ית הַכֹּֽל ‘not destroying them all’ (Isa. 65.8), אִם־לָמֹ֣ד יִלְמְדוּ֩ אֶת־דַּרְכֵ֨י עַמִּ֜י ‘if they will diligently learn the ways of my people’ (Jer. 12.16). Its distinctive property is the extension of the melody so that joy is diffused in the heart, in order to conduct the reading along, animating the reader and moving him to read more. An expert of this discipline has said: If you wish to know whether *gaʿya* is correct, look at the place of the *gaʿya*. If it is permissible to put

## II.L.3.0.
## אלמקאלה אלתאלתה פי אלאלחאן

**II.L.3.1.**
(L1:35r) פאן קאל קאיל פמא תקולון פי אלגעיה קיל לה אן אלגעיה ליס להא שיעור פי אלמקרא פקאר יחדפהא וקאר יתבתהא ותם מואצ̇ע לא ימכן חדפהא לאן להא תאתיר פי אלמעני פי לשון יראה וכדא קאלו כל לשון דחילה געי ומתלה תְשנו יְשנו פהי באלגעיה מן אלנום כי לא יְשנו אם לא ירעו ואדא כאן בלא געיה מן אלתתניה כ̇ך אם תשנו יד אשלח בכם פאן קאל פהל תחסבוהא מן אלאלחאן או מן אלכדאם קיל לה מא תחסב לא מע אלאלחאן ולא מע אלכדאם לאנהא אנמא הי תנפס פי אלכלאם ותסוק אלכלם ותוצלהא ותגמעהא בעצ̇הא מע בעצ̇ כ̇ך לבלתי השחית הכל אם למד ילמדו את דַרכ̇י עמי וכאציתה אלאמדאד באלנגם לינתשר אלסרור פי אלקלב ולזף אלקראה ולתנשיט אלקאר להא ולתחרכה אלי אלתזייד וקד קאל בעצ̇ עלמא הדא אלעלם אדא ארדת אן תנט̇ר צחה אלגעיה פאנט̇ר מוצ̇ע אלגעיה פאן צלח טעם אלכלמה עלי מוצ̇ע

the accent of the word on the place of the *gaʿya*, then the *gaʿya* is in order. If it does not come in the place of the accent, then return it to the place (of the accent).[13] He has said that by this principle one may distinguish a correct *gaʿya* from one that is incorrect. He then retracted this and said that this principle applies only to certain places. The first statement is the correct one.

## II.L.3.2. Chapter concerning Cases whose Rule is not at all Dependent on an Accent and Cases whose Rule is Dependent on an Unspecified Accent.

### II.L.3.2.1.

This includes מֶרְכָּבָה. If somebody were to ask, why is the form מֶרְכָּבָה sometimes pointed with *segol* and sometimes pointed with *pataḥ*, the response would be as follows. When the form is singular, *segol* occurs under the *mem*. Examples of the singular are כַּאֲשֶׁר הָֽפַךְ־אִ֛ישׁ מֵעַ֥ל מֶרְכַּבְתּ֖וֹ ‘when the man turned from his chariot’ (2 Kings 5.26), מֶרְכָּבָ֖ה וְסֻסִ֑ים ‘a chariot and horses’ (2 Sam. 15.1). In the plural you say מַדּ֗וּעַ אֶֽחֱר֙וּ פַּֽעֲמֵ֖י מַרְכְּבוֹתָֽיו ‘Why tarry the hoofbeats of his chariots?’ (Jud. 5.28), מַרְכְּבֹ֥ת פַּרְעֹ֛ה וְחֵיל֖וֹ ‘the chariots of Pharaoh and his army’ (Exod. 15.4), and the like. There is one exception to this, in that it does not have *segol* (in the singular) but *ḥireq*, namely בְּמִרְכֶּ֤בֶת הַמִּשְׁנֶה֙ ‘in his second chariot’ (Gen. 41.43).

[13] The corrected reading פארדהא is a form IV imperative of the root *r-d-d*, which in medieval Judaeo-Arabic is often used with the sense of the form I (Blau 2006, 245).

אלגעיה פאלגעיה מסתויה ואן כאן לא תגי מוצ̇ע אלטעם <פארדהא> עלי אלמוצ̇ע וקאל אן הדא אלאצל בה יועלם צחה אלגעיה מן פסאדהא ורגע ען דלך פקאל אן הדא אלאצל יצח פי בעצ̇ אלמואצ̇ע ואלקול אלאול הו אלצחיח

**II.L.3.2.** (L1:35v) **באב פי מא לם יכון שרטה מעלק בלחן בתה ומא שרטה מעלק בלחן גיר מעיין**

**II.L.3.2.1.**
מן דלך לשון מַרְכָּבָה אן סאל סאיל לם כאן לשון מֶרְכבה תארה תנקט בתלת נקט ותארה בפאתחה אלגואב הוא אן מא כאן מנהא לשון יחיד כאן תחת אלמאם תלת נקט כך̇ פי אליחיד כאשר הפך איש מעל מֶרְכבתו מֶרכבה וסוסים ותקול פי אלרבים מדוע אחרו פעמי מַרְכבוֹתָיו מַרכבות פרעה וה̇ ומת̇ מא סוי ואחדה פאנהא לא בתלת נקט אלא נקטה ואחדה והי בְמִרכבת המשנה

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1201 פארדהא] פאדרהא L1

**II.L.3.2.2.**

Likewise people may ask concerning מַה and מֶה why their pointing varies and what is their rule. The response is as follows. When it is followed by *dagesh*, it has *pataḥ*, for example מַה־תֹּאמַ֥ר נַפְשְׁךָ֖ ‘whatever your soul says’ (1 Sam. 20.4), מַה־נְּדַבֵּ֖ר וּמַה־נִּצְטַדָּ֑ק ‘What shall we speak? And how can we show ourselves to be just?’ (Gen. 44.16). When it is followed by *rafe*, it has *segol*, for example מֶ֣ה לִֽידִידִ֞י ‘What has my beloved?’ (Jer. 11.15), מֶ֚ה לַעֲשׂ֣וֹת לָ֔ךְ הֲיֵ֤שׁ לְדַבֶּר־לָךְ֙ ‘What is to be done for you? Would you have a word spoken on your behalf?’ (2 Kings 4.13), and similar cases.

**II.L.3.2.3.**

People may ask concerning לָמָה what the rule is relating to the fact that it is sometimes with *dagesh* and sometimes *rafe*. The response relates to two factors. One is that it is because of the accent, namely when the accent is on the *mem* of למה, it is *rafe* and when the accent is on the *lamed*, it has *dagesh*, for example לָמָ֤ה הֲרֵעֹ֨תָה֙ לָעָ֣ם הַזֶּ֔ה לָ֥מָּה זֶּ֖ה ‘Why have you done evil to this people? Why (did you ever send me)?’ (Exod. 5.22). All of the reading of Scripture follows this rule except for one case in Job, for the accent is on the *lamed*, but it is *rafe*, namely לָ֤מָה שַׂמְתַּ֖נִי לְמִפְגָּ֥ע ‘Why have you made me your mark?’ (Job 7.20). The second response is that it is on account of the letter. This rule is superior to the first, since למה may be without an accent but rather have *maqqef*, for example לָמָּה־זֶּ֣ה מְחִ֣יר בְּיַד־כְּסִ֑יל ‘Why should a fool have a price in his hand’ (Prov. 17.16), and similar cases. The rule concerning this is that whenever למה are linked prosodically to three letters, namely *ʾalef*, *he* and *ʿayin*, it is *rafe*, for example וְלָמָ֥ה אַתָּ֛ה מִתְנַקֵּ֥שׁ ‘Why are you laying a snare?’ (1 Sam. 28.9), לָמָ֤ה יְהוָה֙ יֶחֱרֶ֣ה אַפְּךָ֔ ‘Why, oh Lord, does your anger

**II.L.3.2.2.**

וכדלך קד יסל אלנאס ען מַה ומֶה לם יכתלף נקטהמא ומא שרטהמא אלגואב הו אן אדא <תבעה> דגש כאנת בפאתחה כקֹ מַה־תאמר נפשך מַה־נדבֵר ומה־נצטדק ומא תבעה רפֵי כאן בסגולה כקֹ מֶה לידידי מֶה לעשות לך היש לדבר לך ומתֹ

**II.L.3.2.3.**

וקד יסל אלנאס ען לָמָה מא אלשרט פי כונה תארה מדגוש ותארה רפי אלגואב פיה עלי וגהין אלואחד מן אגל אלטעם והו אן אדא כאן אלטעם עלי (L1:36r) אלמאם מן למה כאן רפי ואדא כאן אלטעם עלי אללמאד כאן דגש כקֹ לָמָ֫ה הרעֹ֫תָ לעם הזה למה זה וכל אלמקרא עלי הדא אלא ואחד פי איוב פאן אלטעם עלי אללמאד והו רפי והו לָ֫מָּה שַׁמְתַּ֫נִי למפֹ ואלגואב אלבֹ מן אגל אלחרף והדא אלשרט הו אבלג מן אלאול לאן קד יכון למה בגיר אלטעם בל במקף כקֹ למה זה מחיר ביד כסיל ומתֹ ואלשרט פי דלך הו אן כלמא אסתנד למה אלי תלת חרוף והן אלף הא עין כאן רפי כקֹ ולָמָּה אתָּה מתנקש לָמָּה ייָ יחרֶה אפך

1214 תבעה] (short version) S11:1r תבעת L1 L2:1r

burn?' (Exod. 32.11), לָ֥מָּה הֲרֵעֹ֨תָ 'Why have you dealt ill?' (Num. 11.11), לָ֥מָה עֲלִיתֶ֖ם עָלֵ֑ינוּ 'Why have you come up against us?' (Jud. 15.10), and the like. There are five cases that are exceptions to this rule, since they are linked prosodically to אהחע but have *dagesh*. These are לָ֥מָּה הִרְגַּזְתַּ֖נִי 'Why have you vexed me?' (1 Sam. 28.15), לָ֥מָּה הִצִּ֧יתוּ עֲבָדֶ֛יךָ 'Why have your servants set on fire?' (2 Sam. 14.31), לָ֣מָּה אִ֭ירָא בִּ֣ימֵי רָ֑ע 'Why should I fear in times of trouble?' (Psa. 49.6), לָ֣מָּה הָיָ֤ה כְאֵבִי֙ נֶ֔צַח 'Why is my pain unceasing?' (Jer. 15.18), לָ֥מָּה אַכֶּ֖כָּה אַ֑רְצָה 'Why should I smite you to the ground?' (2 Sam. 2.22). Their mnemonic combination is 'The slave has vexed me; I have feared pain; I have killed him'. If you like, you may say 'The servant has vexed me; I have feared illness; I have smitten him.' Every למה that is prosodically bound to the other letters of the inventory, namely בגדוזטיכלמנספצקרשת, has *dagesh*, except for three cases, which are prosodically bound to *shin* and *zayin*, namely לָ֥מָה שְׁכַחְתָּ֑נִי 'Why have you forgotten me?' (Psa. 42.10), לָ֥מָה זְנַחְתָּ֑נִי 'Why have you rejected me?' (Psa. 43.2), לָ֤מָה שַׂמְתַּ֣נִי 'Why have you made me (your mark)?' (Job 7.20). Their mnemonic combination is: 'You made me forgotten and rejected'.

**II.L.3.2.4.**

People may ask concerning הֵן and הֶן, שֵׁשׁ and שֶׁשׁ, עֵת and עֶת, לֵב and לֶב, כֵּן and כֶּן, שֵׁן and שֶׁן why these sometimes occur with *ṣere* and sometimes with *segol*. The response concerning this is as follows. When the accent is on the first letter of the word following these words, they have *segol* so long as they have *maqqef*, for example הֶן־תָּ֫וִי 'Here is my signature' (Job 31.35), הֶן־ה֭וּא 'Behold it (is the joy of his way)' (Job 8.19). You say

למְה הרעׄותׄ למה עליתם עלינו ומתׄ ואלדי כרג ען דלך כמסה מואצׄע פאנהא מסתנדה אלי אׄהׄעׄ והי מדגושה והי למׄה הרגזתַני למׄה הציתו עבדיך למׄה אירא בימׄי רע למׄה היה כאבי נצח למׄה אככה ארצה ורבאטהא אקלקני אלעבד כשית אלוגע קתלתה ואן ארדת תקול <הרגיזני> העבד ייראתי החולי הכיתיו וכל למה אסתנד אלי חרוף אלקבאלה אלאכר הם בׄגׄדׄוׄזׄטׄיׄכׄ לׄמׄנׄסׄפׄצׄקׄרׄשׄתׄ יכון דגש מא סוי תלתה פאנהא תסתנד אלי שין וזאי והן למה שכחתני זנחתני למה שמתני ורבאטהא שמתַנִי מֶשכָח מֻזנָח

**II.L.3.2.4.**

וקד יסל אלנאס ען הֵן והֶן ושֵש ושֶש ועֵת ועֶת ולֵב ולֶב וכֵן וכֶן ושֵן ושֶן לם כאן הדה אלמדכוראת תגי תארה בצרי ותארה בסגולה (L1:36v) ואלגואב פי דלך הו אן אדא כאן אלטעם פי אול חרף מן אלכלמה אלתאניה להדה אלכלם צארת בסגולה מהמא הי במקף כקׄ הֶן־תָוִי הֶן הוא ותקול שֶש הֵנָה שֵש השעורים

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1231 הרגיזני] L2:2r הרגיני L1  1232 אסתנד...אלאכר] אסתנד אלי בקיה חרוף אלקבאלה L2:2r

שֶׁשׁ־הֵ֣נָּה ‘They are six’ (Prov. 6.16) and שֵׁשׁ־הַשְּׂעֹרִ֥ים ‘six (measures) of barley’ (Ruth 3.17). You say לֹ֥א עֶת־בֹּ֛א ‘it is not the time of coming’ (Haggai 1.2), כִּ֧י לְעֶת־י֣וֹם בְּי֔וֹם ‘for from day to day’ (1 Chron. 12.23). An exception to the (expected form) עֵת is בְּלֹא֙ עֶת־נִדָּתָ֔הּ ‘not at the time of her impurity’ (Lev. 15.25), for the accent is not on the first letter but it has *segol*. You say פַּלְגֵי־מַ֣יִם לֶב־מֶ֣לֶךְ ‘The king’s heart is a stream of water’ (Prov. 21.1), אֲשֶׁ֤ר יַֽעֲלֶה֙ עַ֣ל לֶב־אִ֔ישׁ ‘that comes into a man’s heart’ (2 Kings 12.5). You say כְדִבְרֵיכֶ֖ם כֶּן־ה֑וּא ‘Let it be as you say’ (Gen. 44.10, etc.). You say עַל־שֶׁן־סֶ֗לַע ‘in the crag of rock’ (Job 39.28). The phrase שֵׁ֥ן־הַסֶּ֖לַע ‘a crag of rock’ (1 Sam. 14.4) has *ṣere* since the accent occurs on the second letter.

**II.L.3.2.5.**

People may ask concerning אֵת and אֶת which of them has the accent and which has *maqqef*. The response is as follows. They say that every אֶת with *segol* in the reading of Scripture is always without an accent and has *maqqef*, except for three cases, namely בְּהַצּוֹת֨וֹ ׀ אֶ֥ת אֲרַ֣ם ‘when he strove with Aram(naharaim)’ (Psa. 60.2), אֶ֥ת גְּא֨וֹן יַעֲקֹ֖ב ‘the pride of Jacob’ (Psa. 47.5), כִּ֤י אֶ֤ת אֲשֶׁ֣ר יֶאֱהַ֣ב ‘for him whom he loves’ (Prov. 3.12). Every אֵת with *ṣere* must have an accent and never has *maqqef*, except for one case, namely אֵֽת־כָּל־גָּבֹ֥הַּ ‘everything that is high’ (Job 41.26).

**II.L.3.2.6.**

People may ask also concerning כָּל and כֹּל why it is with *qameṣ* and with *ḥolem*. The response is as follows. They have said that whenever it has *maqqef* it occurs only with *qameṣ*, except for

ותקול לא עֶת בׄא כי לעֶת <יום> ביום ואלדי יכרג ען <עת> קׄ בלא עֶת נדתה פאן אלטעם ליס הו עלי אול חרף וקד גא בתלת נקט ותקול פלגי מים לֶב מלך אשר יעלה על לֶב איש ותקול כדבריכם כֶן הוא ותקול על שֶן סלע שֶן הסֶלע צאר בצירי למא צאר אלטעם מע אלחרף אלתאני

**II.L.3.2.5.**

וקד יסל אלנאס ען אֵת ואֶת מא מנהא בטעם ומא מנהא במקף אלגואב קאלו אן כל אֶת פי אלמקרא בסגולה לא יכון פיהא טעם אלבתה בל במקף אלא גׄ והי בהצותו אֱת ארם אֱת גאון יׄע כי אֱת אשר יאהב וכל אֵת בצרי לא בד לה מן טעם ולא ידכלה מקף בתה אלא וׄא והו אֱת־כל גבוה

**II.L.3.2.6.**

וקד יסל אלנאס איׄצא ען כָל וכׄל לם כאן בקאמצה ובחלם אלגואב קאלו אן כל מא כאן במקף לא יכון <אלא> מקמוצא

1241 יום] יום יום L1 | עת] L2:2v *omitted* L1 1252 אלא] L1 *omitted*

two cases in the reading of Scripture: כָּֽל־עַצְמוֹתָ֑י ‘all my bones’ (Psa. 22.15), כָּ֤ל אֲחֵֽי־רָ֨שׁ ‘all the brothers of a poor man’ (Prov. 19.7), and also וְכָ֤ל בַּשָּׁלִ֙שׁ ‘and has measured in a third (measure)’ (Isa. 40.12), although they interpreted it as being from the lexical class of ‘measuring’. Whenever it occurs with *ḥolem*, it does not have *maqqef* but rather has an accent, for example כֹּ֚ל הַנִּקְרָ֣א בִשְׁמִ֔י ‘everyone who is called by my name’ (Isa. 43.7), כֹּ֩ל אֲשֶׁ֨ר תִּמְצָ֤א יָֽדְךָ֙ ‘whatever your hand finds’ (Ecc. 9.10).

**II.L.3.2.7.**

They may also ask concerning the lexical class of ‘blessing’ why the *shewa* under the *resh* is sometimes quiescent and sometimes mobile. The response is as follows. They have said that whenever the accent is under the *bet* of the lexical class of ‘blessing’, the *shewa* is quiescent, for example בָּֽרְכוּ־נָ֖א אֶת־יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֵיכֶ֑ם ‘Bless the Lord your God’ (1 Chron. 29.20). When the accent is on the *kaf*, the *shewa* is mobile, for example בָּרֲכ֥וּ יְהוָ֗ה מַלְאָ֫כָ֥יו ‘Bless the Lord, (you) his angels’ (Psa. 103.20), בַּעֲב֖וּר תְּבָרֲכַ֥נִּי נַפְשֶֽׁךָ ‘in order that your soul blesses me’ (Gen. 27.19), except one case, in which the accent is on the *kaf* but the *shewa* is quiescent, namely וּלְעִלָּאָה֙ בָּרְכֵ֔ת ‘I blessed the Most High’ (Dan. 4.31). It may be said that this last case has broken the rule since it is in the Aramaic language. If, however, there is a case that breaks the rule in Hebrew, then it must be וּמִבִּרְכָֽתְךָ֔ יְבֹרַ֥ךְ בֵּֽית־עַבְדְּךָ֖ ‘with your blessing will the house of your servant be blessed’ (2 Sam. 7.29), because the accent in this is on the *kaf* and the *shewa* is silent, unless it be said that in this word there are two accents. The most plausible statement is that it is a case that breaks the rule because וַאֲבָֽרְכָה֙ מְבָ֣רְכֶ֔יךָ ‘I will bless those that bless you’ (Gen. 12.3) has two accents and the *shewa* is mobile. Likewise in בִּרְכֹ֣ת אָבִ֗יךָ ‘the blessings of your father’ (Gen. 49.26) the accent is on the *kaf* and the *shewa* is quiescent, and this is also a case that breaks the rule.

מא סוי תנתין פי אלמקרא כָּל־עצמותי כָּל אחי רש וכָל בשליש ואן כאן יפסרוהא מן אלמכיאל וכל מא כאן בחלם (L1:37r) לא ידכלה מקף בל יכון בטעם כׄך כֹל הנקרָא בשמי כל אשר תמצָא ידךָ

**II.L.3.2.7.**

ויסל איצׄא ען לשון בְרָכָה לם כאן אלשוא אלדי תחת אלריש תארה סאכן ותארה מתחרך ואלגואב קאלו אן כלמא אלטעם תחת אלבא מן לשון ברכה כאן אלשוא סאכן כׄך בָּרְכוּ נָא את ייי אלהיכם ואדא כאן אלטעם עלי אלכאף כאן אלשוא מתחרך כׄך ברכו ייָ מלאכיו בעבור תברכְני נפשך אלא ואחדה פאן אלטעם עלי אלכאף ואלשוא סאכן והי ולעִלָּאָה בָרכֵת וקד ימכן אן יקאל אנהא אנמא כסרת אלשרט לכונהא מן לגה אלכסדאני גיר אן כאן כאסרה מן אלעבראני פינבגי אן תכון וּמִבִּרְכָתְךָ יברך בית עבדך לאן אלטעם פיהא עלי אלכאף ואלשוא סאכן אלא אן יקאל אן פי הדה אלכלמה טעמין ואלקריב אנהא כאסרה לאן ואברכה מבִרכֶיךָ פיהא טעמין ואלשוא מתחרך וכדלך ברכִות אביך אלטעם עלי אלכאף ואלשוא סאכן פתכון איצׄא כאסרה עלי אלשרט

# HIDĀYAT AL-QĀRIʾ (SHORT VERSION)

## II.S.0.0. (INTRODUCTION)

GAP

### II.S.0.1.

This is the book of the abbreviated version of *The Guide for the Reader*, known as *The Book of Essential Requirements*.[1]

### II.S.0.2.

Its author begins and says: You, may God support you, asked me to abbreviate for you *The Book of Rules*, which is generally known as *The Guide for the Reader*, in which I mention its essential requirements. So, I am here responding to this request of yours, asking God to grant me success in this, possibly including where necessary what was not mentioned in *The Guide for the Reader*. From Him, may He be exalted, I seek help.

### II.S.0.3.

If somebody were to ask what the need is for knowledge of the rules of biblical recitation, the response should be: because the accents change meanings, for example קֽ֫וּמִי אֽ֫וֹרִי ‘Arise! Shine!’ (Isa. 60.1), which are two feminine singular imperatives, since the accent is on the first letter, but לְי֣וֹם קוּמִ֣י לְעַ֑ד ‘for the day when I arise as a witness’ (Zeph. 3.8), יְהוָ֤ה ׀ אוֹרִ֣י וְ֭יִשְׁעִי ‘The Lord is my light and my salvation’ (Psa. 27.1), which are two masculine nouns, since the accent is at the end and not the beginning of the word. Other examples are שָׁ֗בוּ עַל־עֲוֺנֹ֨ת אֲבוֹתָ֜ם ‘They have turned back to the iniquities of their forefathers’ (Jer. 11.10), which denotes ‘returning’ since the accent is on the first letter,

[1] Literally: the book of the lifeblood.

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# הדאיה אלקאר

**II.S.0.0.**

GAP

**II.S.0.1.**

(S20:1r) הדא כתאב מכתצר הדאיה אלקאר יוערף בכתאב אלמהגה

**II.S.0.2.**

אבתדי מצנפה וקאל סאלתם איידכם אללה אן אכתצר לכם כתאב אלשרוט אלמלקב בהדאיה אלקאר בחית אדכר מוהגה והא אנא מגיב לכם אלי דלך סאילא ללה תופיקי פיה מע מא עסאה אן ינצ̇אף אליה ממא לם ידכר פי הדאיה אלקאר ובה תע אסתעין

**II.S.0.3.**

אן קאל קאיל מא אלחאגה אלי עלם אלשרוט פי אלמקרא קיל לה לאן אלחאן מגיירה ללמעאני מתל קְוּמִי אְוֹרִי אמרין למונת מן חית אן אלטעם עלי אול חרף מתל ליום קומי לעד ייי אורי וישעי אסמין למדכר למא תאכר אללחן ען אול אלכלמה (S9:1r) ומתל שבו על עונות אבותם מן אלרגוע לאן אלטעם עלי אול

but שָׁבְ֖וּ וַיָּבֹ֑זּוּ 'they captured and made their prey' (Gen. 34.29), which denotes 'capturing' since the accent is placed not on the beginning of the word but on its end.

**II.S.0.4.**

A further reason is that this reading, which is now current in the Land of Israel, is the reading of Ezra, peace be upon him, and his generation, because the nation was not cut off from the Land of Israel from the time of Ezra, peace be upon him, in the Second Temple, until now, except from Jerusalem during the reign of Edom over the land. Israel taught this reading to their children until now, generation after generation. Another reason is that if somebody were to read the twenty-one books with the accents of the three books or the three books with the accents of the twenty-one books, this would be rejected. Likewise, if somebody read *merkha* in place of *darga* or *darga* in place of *merkha*, the congregation would declare him to be in error in this regard.

**II.S.0.5.**

So, if there are rules for the accents, there is a need to know them.

חרף שבו ויבוזו מן אלסבי לתאכר אללחן ען אול כלמה אלי אכרהא

**II.S.0.4.**

ולאן הדה אלקראה אלדי פי ארץ ישראל אלאן הי קראה עזרא ע̇ה̇ וגילה לאן מא אנקטעת אלאמה מן ארץ ישראל מן זמאן עזרא ע̇ה̇ פי בית שני אלי אלאן אלא מן ירושלם פקט פי זמאן מלך אדום ללארץ̇ וישראל יעלמון אולאדהם אלי אלאן גיל בעד גיל הדה אלקראה ולאן לו קרא אלאנסאן אלכ̇א̇ ספר בלחן אלג̇ אספאר או אלג̇ אספאר בלחן אלכ̇א̇ ספר לרד דלך עליה וכדא לו קרא מוצ̇ע סלסלה מארכה או מוצ̇ע מארכה סלסלה לגלטה אלגמע פי דלך

**II.S.0.5.**

(S9:1v) ואדא כאן ללאלחאן שרוט פקד דעת אלחאגה אלא עלמהא

# II.S.1.0.

## SECTION CONCERNING THE PLACE OF ARTICULATION OF THE LETTERS

**II.S.1.1.**

The letters consist of twenty-two basic letters. They fall into five groups in five places of articulation, namely אׂהׂחׂעׂ, גׂיׂכׂרׂקׂ, דׂטׂלׂנׂתׂ, זׂסׂצׂשׂ and בׂוׂמׂפׂ.

**II.S.1.2.**

Take note that the place of articulation of אׂהׂחׂעׂ is the root of the tongue and the place of swallowing, that is the throat and the base of the tongue. For this reason they are the lightest of the letters and never take *dagesh*. It may be thought that *he* and *ʾalef* take *dagesh*, but this is not the case. This is because the dot in the *he* at the end of a word indicates the (consonantal) property of the *he*. Surely you see that the property of the *he* at the beginning and in the middle of a word appears without a dot. As for (the dot in) *ʾalef* in the four places (where it is found), namely וַיָּבִ֧יאּוּ ל֛וֹ ‘and they brought him’ (Gen. 43.26), תָּבִ֣יאּוּ ‘you shall bring’ (Lev. 23.17), וַיָּבִ֨יאּוּ לָ֜נוּ ‘and they brought to us’ (Ezra 8.18), לֹ֣א רֻ֑אּוּ ‘were not seen’ (Job 33.21), this reflects a strong effort to pronounce the letter by the reader and is not *dagesh*.

# II.S.1.0.

## פצל פי מחל אלחרוף

**II.S.1.1.**

אלחרוף כׄבׄ חרפא אצולא (S20:2r) תגי כמס אקסאם פי כמסה מ[חאל והי] אׄהׄחׄע גׄיׄכׄרׄק דׄטׄלׄנׄתׄ זׄסׄצׄשׁ בׄוׄמׄףׄ

**II.S.1.2.**

אעלם אן אׄהׄחׄע מחלהא עיקר הלשון ובית הבליעה והו אלחלקום ואצל אללסאן ולדלך כאנת אכף אלחרוף לא ידכלהא דגש בתה ואלהי ואלאלף קד יוצׄן אן ידכלהא דגש וליס אלחאל כדלך לאן אלנקטה פי אלהי פי אכר אלכלאם תטׄהר טעם אלהי אלי תרי אן טעם אלהי פי אול אלכלאם ופי וסטה יטׄהר מן דון אלנקטה ואלאלף פי אלארבעה מואצׄע אלתי הי ויביאו לו תביאו ויביאו לנו לׄא ראו פהו תכלף יתכלפה אלקאר פי כרוגה שדידא פליס הדא דגש

27 מ[חאל והי]] מחאל והי S8:1r | אׄהׄחׄע...בׄוׄמׄףׄ] אׄהׄחׄע גׄיׄכׄק דׄטׄלׄנׄתׄ זׄסׄצׄרׄשׁ בׄוׄמׄףׄ S9:1v | זׄסׄצׄשׁ] זסשץ S8:1r 30 בתה] אלבתה S9:1v ואלהי] *et passim* אלהא S8:1r | יוצׄן] יטׄן S8:1r 33 אלארבעה] ארבע S8:1r

**II.S.1.3.**

The place of articulation of גׄיׄכׄרׄקׄ is the middle of the tongue, in its wide part. The place of articulation of גׄךׄ pronounced *rafe* is the third of the tongue adjacent ot the throat.

**II.S.1.4.**

The place of articulation of דׄטׄלׄנׄתׄ is the extremity of the tongue in combination with the flesh of the teeth. When the letters דׄתׄ are pronounced *rafe*, the extremity of the tongue is pressed gently onto the flesh of the teeth.

**II.S.1.5.**

The place of articulation of זׄסׄצׄשׄ is the teeth.

**II.S.1.6.**

The place of articulation of בׄוׄמׄףׄ is the lips. When בׄףׄ are *rafe*, the lips are closed gently while they are pronounced.

**II.S.1.7.**

It is said that the letters interchange with one another, as in בִּזַּ֥ר 'he scattered' (Psa. 68.31) and פִּזַּ֤ר 'he has distributed' (Psa. 112.9), יַעֲלֹ֑ס 'he will (not) rejoice' (Job 20.18), יַעֲלֹ֥ץ 'it exults' (1 Chron. 16.32), and similar forms. There are cases of enhancement and reduction. It is preferable, however, not to call it 'interchanging', for it is possible that this takes place for a reason, either to express multiplicity or paucity, or for some

**II.S.1.3.**

ג'כ̇ר̇ק̇ מחלהא וסט אללסאן בערצ̇ה ומחל ג̇ד̇ אלמורפיין תלת אללסאן ממא ילי אלחלקום

**II.S.1.4.**

ד̇ט̇ל̇נ̇ת̇ מחלהא טרף אל[לסאן ולח]ם אלאסנאן ודת̇ אלמורפיין (S20:2v) [ילצק טרף] אללסאן בלחם אלאסנאן ברפק

**II.S.1.5.**

ז̇ס̇צ̇ש̇ מחלהא אלאסנאן

**II.S.1.6.**

ב̇ו̇מ̇ף̇ מחלהא אלשפתין ב̇ף̇ אלמרפיין תטבק אלשפתין בהמא ברפק

**II.S.1.7.**

אלחרוף יקאל אנהא תנבדל בעץ̇ בבעץ̇ מתל ב̇ז̇ר פ̇ז̇ר יעלוס יעלוץ ונחו דלך ותגי זואיד ונואקץ ואלאולא אן לא יקאל דלך לאן ימכן אלתבדיל אדא כאן עלי וגה אמא לכתרה או לקלה או

36 ג'כ̇ר̇ק̇] ג'כ̇כ̇ S15:1r   38 אל[לסאן ולח]ם] אללסאן ולחם S8:1v
39 [ילצק טרף]] ילצק טרף S8:1v   40 ז̇ס̇צ̇ש̇] ז̇ס̇צ̇ר̇ש̇ S15:1r
44 ואלאולא] אלאולי S21:1v

other reason. They give the form *bet* to express one sense and for another sense they give it *pe*. Likewise with יַעֲלוֹס, when the joy has a particular sense, they give it *samekh* and for another sense they give it *zayin*, and so forth concerning what I initially said were cases of interchange and inversion.

לוגה מן אלוגוה יגעלוהא בבי ועלי וגה גירה יגעלוהא בפי וכדלך יעלוס אדא כאן אלמרח עלי וגה יגעלוהא בסמאך ועלי וגה אכר יגעלוהא בזאי אלי גיר דלך ממא קד כנת פי אלאול אקול אנה ינבדל וינקלב

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46 יגעלוהא[1]] יגעלוה S21:1v | בבי] בבא S21:1v | גירה] אכר S21:1v | יגעלוהא[2]] יגעלוה S21:1v | בפי] בפא S21:1v
47 יגעלוהא] יגעלוה S21:1v

## II.S.2.0.

## SECTION CONCERNING אֹוִיֹּה AND בֹּגֹדֹכֹּפֹּתֹּ

**II.S.2.1.**

When one of these four letters, I mean אֹוִיֹּה, is at the end of a word and the word is conjoined to what follows it by a (conjunctive) accent, and when the second word begins with one these six letters, I mean בֹּגֹדֹכֹּפֹּתֹּ, this letter is pronounced *rafe*, for example כִּ֤י בְאַפָּם֙ הָ֣רְגוּ 'for in their anger they have slain' (Gen. 49.6), וַיְהִ֥י דְבַר־יְהוָ֖ה 'and the word of the Lord was' (1 Kings 17.2, etc.), in וְאֶקְחָ֨ה פַת־לֶ֜חֶם 'and I shall fetch a morsel of bread' (Gen. 18.5), and similar cases.

**II.S.2.2.**

There are nine types of cases that break the rule I have just mentioned. These are *ʾoghera, di-fsiq, di-dhḥiq, ʾathe me-raḥiq, mappiq he, mappiq vav, mappiq yod,* two identical letters, *bet* and *pe*.

**II.S.2.3.**

As for *ʾoghera*, this is the 'collection' of only seven words. Four of these are in the song וַיּ֤וֹשַׁע (Exod. 14.30, 'the Song of the Sea'). These are גָאֹ֣ה גָּאָ֔ה 'he has triumphed gloriously' (Exod. 15.1) and the other case of this (Exod. 15.21), יִדְּמ֣וּ כָּאָ֑בֶן 'they are as still as a stone' (Exod. 15.16), מִ֥י כָּמֹ֖כָה נֶאְדָּ֣ר בַּקֹּ֑דֶשׁ 'Who is like you, majestic in holiness?' (Exod. 15.11). In the book of Isaiah

## II.S.2.0.

# פצל פי חרוף אוֹיֹהֹ ובֹגֹדֹכֹפֹתֹ

**II.S.2.1.**

הדה אלארבעה חרוף אעני אוֹיֹהֹ אדא כאן אחדהא פי אכר כלמה וכאנת אלכלמה מצֹאפה אלי מא בעדהא באללחן וכאנת אלכלמה אלתאניה אולהא אחד הדה אלסתה חרוף אעני בֹגֹדֹ כֹּפֹתֹ כרג דלך אלחרף מרפי כפיף כקולה כי באפם (S20:3r) הרגו ויהי דבר ייי ואקחה פת לחם ואמתאל דלך

**II.S.2.2.**

ואלדי כרג ען מא דכרת תסעה כואסר הם אוֹגֵּירָה ודפסיק ודדחיק וַאַתֵא מרחיק ומפיק הי ומפיק ואו ומפיק יוד וחרפין מתראדפין ובי ופי

**II.S.2.3.**

אוגירה גאמעה לסבעה כלם פקט ארבעה מנהא פי שירה ויושע

והי גַאה גאה וחבירו ידמו כָּאֳבן מי כמוכה נאדר בקדש ופי ספר

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56 ען...דכרת] ען דלך S15:1v | אוֹגֵּירָה...57 יוד] אוֹגֵרָה וְדַּפְסִיק וְדַדְּחִיק וְאַתֵא מֵרַחֵיק וְמַפֵּק הֵא וְמַפֵּק וַאו ומַפֵּק יוֹד S27:1r-1v

there is וְשַׂמְתִּ֤י כַּדְכֹד֙ 'and I shall make (your pinnacles) of agate' (Isa. 54.12). In the book of Jeremiah there is וְנִלְאֵ֥יתִי כַּלְכֵ֖ל וְלֹ֥א אוּכָֽל 'and I am weary of holding it in and I cannot' (Jer. 20.9). In the book of Daniel there is וְחָכְמָ֛ה כְּחָכְמַת־אֱלָהִ֖ין 'and wisdom like wisdom of the gods' (Dan. 5.11). I do not know any disagreements concerning these seven. In other cases, concerning which there are disagreements, the reader should choose which of the variants he wants to read in his reading and nobody can reject this.

**II.S.2.4.**

As for *di-fsiq*, whenever *paseq* comes between one of the letters אוׄיׄהׄ and the letters בׄגׄדׄכׄפׄתׄ, the letters אוׄיׄהׄ have no influence, for example, יוֹסֵ֨ף יְהוָ֤ה עַל־עַמּוֹ֙ ׀ כָּהֵ֔ם 'May the Lord add to his people (a hundred times as many) as them' (1 Chron. 21.3), עָשׂ֣וּ ׀ כָּלָ֑ה 'they have done completely' (Gen. 18.21), and similar cases. There is no exception to this type of case that breaks the rule.

**II.S.2.5.**

*Di-dhḥiq*: The meaning of *di-dhḥiq* (literally: what is compressed) is that between the accent that is in the word containing one of the אוׄיׄהׄ letters and a בׄגׄדׄכׄפׄתׄ letter there is a vowel and this vowel is not dwelt upon or prolonged in pronunciation. On account of this compressed vowel the rule of the אוׄיׄהׄ is broken, as in וְאָעִ֣ידָה בָּ֔ם 'that I may call to witness against them' (Deut. 31.28), וְהָגִ֨יתָ בּ֜וֹ 'you shall meditate on' (Josh. 1.8) and similar cases. The compression may occur in a word that does not have

ישעיה ושמתי כדכד ופי ספר ירמיה ונלאתי כלכל ולא ופי ספר דניאל וחכמה כחכמת אלהין ומא ערפת פי הולי אלסבעה כלף ומא עדאהם מן אלכלף אלקאר מכיר פי אלקראה מא אראד מן אלאכלאף יקרא וליס לאחד אן ירד עליה

**II.S.2.4.**

דפסיק כל מא חצל בין חרף אלאׄויׄהׄ ובין חרף בׄגׄדׄ כׄפׄתׄ פסיק לא יכון ללאׄויׄהׄ תאתירא מתל יוסף ייי על עמו כהם עשו כלה ואמתאל דלך וליס עלי הדה אלכאסרה אסתתנא

**II.S.2.5.**

דדחיק מעני דדחיק הו אן יכון בין אללחן אלדי פי אל (S20:3v) כלמה אלדי פיהא חרף אלאׄויׄהׄ ובין חרף בׄגׄדׄ כׄפׄתׄ מלך ואחד ולא יתאנא ולא יטול פי אלנטק בדלך אלמלך פלאגל הדא אלמלך אלצ̇ייק כסר שרט אלאׄויׄהׄ כקולך ואעִידה בֹּם והגִית בוֹ ואמתאל דלך וקד יכון <אלצ̇יק> חאצל פי כלמה ליס פיהא

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61 ושמתי] וסמתי S15:1v 62 הולי] האולאי S15:1v 63 אלקראה] קראתה S15:1v 68 אלדי] אלתי S15:2r 71 אלצ̇ייק] הדא אלצ̇יק S29:1r S15:2r 72 ואמתאל דלך] ומא מאתל האולאי S15:2r אלצ̇יק] S4:1v אלצ̇ייק S20

an accent but is a small word, as in מַה־תֹּאמַ֥ר נַפְשְׁךָ֖ ‘whatever your soul says’ (1 Sam. 20.4), זֶה־בְּנִ֥י הַחַ֖י ‘This is my son that is alive’ (1 Kings 3.23), and other similar cases in which the vowel is pronounced compressed. Surely you see in אֲשֶׁ֣ר הוֹרַדְתֵּ֣נוּ בֹ֔ו ‘through which you let us down’ (Josh. 2.18), in which the vowel after the accent is pronounced long with exhalation of breath, the same, or approximately the same, as other (long) vowels, the *bet* of בֹ֔ו does not have *dagesh*. If you examine this closely, you will discern the difference.

**II.S.2.6.**

*ʾAthe me-raḥiq* is the opposite of the previous type of case that breaks the rule, because this one (i.e. *ʾathe me-raḥiq*) is on account of what is far and that one (i.e. *di-dhḥiq*) is on account of what is near. This (i.e. *ʾathe me-raḥiq*) arises from the fact that due to the distance of the accent (from the preceding conjunctive accent), one comes upon it (the accent) like a ballista and so the בגדכפת letters are pronounced with *dagesh*, as in הֽוּא יִבְנֶה־בַּ֖יִת לִשְׁמִ֑י ‘He will build a house for my name’ (2 Sam. 7.13), הֲלַמֵּתִ֥ים תַּעֲשֶׂה־פֶּ֑לֶא ‘Do you work wonders for the dead?’ (Psa. 88.11), ס֥וּרָה שְׁבָה־פֹּ֑ה ‘Turn aside, sit here’ (Ruth 4.1). Also (included in this category) are cases in which there is no (conjunctive) accent, so (such cases must be considered) to have a virtual (conjunctive) accent before them in order to conform to (cases such as) הֽוּא יִבְנֶה־בַּ֖יִת לִשְׁמִ֑י, as in וְאֵלְכָ֥ה אֵלֶ֖יהָ וְאֶדְרְשָׁה־בָּ֑הּ ‘that I may go to her and inquire of her’ (1 Sam. 28.7), and similar cases.

טעם גיר אנהא תכון כלמה צגירה כקולך מה תאמר נפשך זה בני החי ומא מאתלהמא ממא יגי <אלנטק> באלמלך אלצׄייק אלי תרי אלי קולך אשר הורדתינו בו למא גא פי <אלמלך> אלדי בעד אלטעם תוסע ב<תנפיס> יגרי מגרי מלך אכר או קריב מנה לם יגי אלבי מן <בו> דגש ואדא תאמלת וגדת אלפרק

**II.S.2.6.**

אַתֵא מרחיק באלעכס מן אלכאסרה אלמתקדמה לאן הדה למא בעֶד ותיך למא קרֶב והו אן כמא יבעד אללחן ינצב עליה כאלמנגניק פידגש <חרוף> בׄגׄדׄ כׄפׄתׄ כקָ הוא יבנה בית הלמתים תעשה פלא סורה שבה פה ומא לם יכון פיה לחן פהו (S20:4r) בתקדיר לחן קבלה ליגרי מגרי הוא יבנה בית כקוֹ ואלכה אליה ואדרשה בה ומא מאתלהא

74 אלנטק] S15:2v אלנקט S20   75 אלמלך] S15:2v + צׄיק S20
76 תנפיס] S15:2v תפוס S20   77 בו] S15:2v בי S20   81 חרוף] S15:2v אלצׄייק S20

**II.S.2.7.**

So far four types of cases that break the rule have been discussed. The fifth type of case that breaks the rule is *mappiq he*. The meaning of the term *mappiq he* is the (consonantal) pronunciation of the *he* and its appearance. It is derived from וְדָתָ֣א נֶפְקַ֔ת 'and the decree went forth' (Dan. 2.13), that is נָפְקָה. This is because when the *he* is pronounced at the end of a word, the rule of the אוֹיֹהֹ letters is broken, as in מַחֲצִיתָ֥הּ בַּבֹּ֖קֶר 'half of it in the morning' (Lev. 6.13), הִ֚יא וְכָל־אֲשֶׁ֣ר אִתָּ֔הּ בַּבַּ֖יִת 'she and all those who are with her in the house' (Josh. 6.17), וְלַ֛הּ גַּפִּ֥ין אַרְבַּ֖ע 'and it has four wings' (Dan. 7.6), and similar cases. There are no exceptions to this breaking of the rule at all.

**II.S.2.8.**

The sixth type of case that breaks the rule is *mappiq vav*. This is because every *vav* at the end of a word is pronounced according to the view of the Palestinians as a *bet rafe*, which breaks the rule of the אוֹיֹהֹ, as in חֲצֵרֹתָ֥יו בִּתְהִלָּ֑ה '(enter) his courts with praise' (Psa. 100.4), אֵלָ֥יו פִּֽי־קָרָ֑אתִי 'I cried aloud to him' (Psa. 66.17), and similar cases. There are only two words that are exceptions to this breaking of the rule, namely וְנָטָ֥ה עָלֶ֛יהָ קַו־תֹ֖הוּ 'He will stretch the line of confusion over it' (Isa. 34.11), וְק֨וֹל הָמ֜וֹן שָׁלֵ֣ו בָ֗הּ 'The sound of a carefree multitude was with her' (Ezek. 23.42).

**II.S.2.9.**

The seventh type of case that breaks the rule is *mappiq yod*. This is that whenever *yod* occurs at the end of a word and the next word begins with one of the בֹגֹדֹכֹפֹתֹ letters, and *ḥireq* or *ṣere*, I mean a dot or two dots, occur under the letter before the *yod*, then the rule of אוֹיֹהֹ is observed, as in לִבְנִ֥י בְנ֖וֹ 'Libni his son' (1 Chron. 6.14), כִּ֤י בְקָקוּם֙ 'for they have stripped them' (Nahum 2.3), שָׂרֵ֣י פְלִשְׁתִּ֑ים 'the princes of the Philistines' (1 Sam. 18.30),

**II.S.2.7.**

אלאן קד מצֿא ארבעה כואסר אלכאמסה אלכאסרה מפיק הי מעני מפיק הי הו כרוג אלהי וטֿהורהא ואשתקאקהא מן דָתָָה נִפְקַת נפקה והו אן אלהי אדא טֿהר פי אכר אלכלמה כסר שרט אלאֹוֹיֹהֹ כך מחציתה בבקר היא וכל אשר אתה בבית ולה גפין ארבע ומא מאתל דלך ומא עלי הדה אלכאסרה שי מן אלמסתתנא בתה

**II.S.2.8.**

אלכאסרה אלסאדסה מפיק ואו ודאך אן כל ואו פי אכר כלמה יכרג עלי ראי אלשאמיין בבי מרפי יכסר עלי שרט אלאֹוֹיֹהֹ כקולך חצרותיו בתהלה אליו פי קראתי ואמתאלהמא ואלדי יסתתנא עליה הדה אלכאסרה לפצֿתין פקט המא ונטה עליה קו תהו שלו בה

**II.S.2.9.**

אלכאסרה אלסאבעה מפיק יוד והו אן כל יוד יכון פי אכר כלמה ואול אלאכר חרף מן חרוף בֹגֹדֹ כֹפֹתֹ ותחת אלחרף אלדי קבל אליוד חרק או צרי אעני נקטה או (S20:4v) נקטתין פאן שרט אלאֹוֹיֹהֹ תאבת פיה כך לבנֶ֤י בנֹ֗ו כִּ֣י בקקים שָׂ֫רֵ֤י פ̄לשתים

and similar cases. If vowels that are different from the aforementioned occur under the aforementioned letter, the *yod* is strengthened and the rule of אֹוֹיֹהֹ is not observed, as in אוּלַ֖י תַּעֲר֑וֹצִי 'perhaps you may inspire terror' (Isa. 47.12), יְאָתְרַ֥י בְּנֽוֹ 'Jeatherai his son' (1 Chron. 6.6), כִּ֥י מִי־ג֣וֹי גָּד֔וֹל 'for what great nation' (Deut. 4.7), and similar cases. One word is an exception to this breaking of the rule.

**II.S.2.10.**

The eighth type of case that breaks the rule is the succession of two letters. If two *bet*s or *kaf*s, but not the remaining letters, I mean בּגדכּפת, succeed one another and under the first of them there is a *shewa*, then the rule of אֹוֹיֹהֹ is broken, as in וַיְהִ֣י בְּבוֹאָ֗הּ 'and when she came' (Josh. 15.18), וַתִּתְפְּשֵׂ֧הוּ בְּבִגְד֛וֹ 'and she caught him by his garment' (Gen. 39.12), הֲלֹ֖א כְּכַרְכְּמִ֣ישׁ 'Is it not like Carchemish?' (Isa. 10.9), and other cases. If a vowel occurs under the first of the two instead of *shewa*, the rule of אֹוֹיֹהֹ is observed, as in וְה֕וּא אִשָּׁ֥ה בבתוּלֶ֖יהָ יִקָּֽח 'And he (shall take) a wife in her virginity' (Lev. 21.13), אֲזַ֨לוּ בבְהִיל֤וּ לִירוּשְׁלֶם֙ 'They went in haste to the Jews' (Ezra 4.23), and similar cases.

**II.S.2.11.**

The ninth type of case that breaks the rule is *bet* and *pe*. The statement concerning them is similar to the statement regarding the preceding type of case that breaks the rule, without there being any disagreement. This is that when *bet* is followed by *pe* and *shewa* is below the *bet*, the rule of אֹוֹיֹהֹ is broken, as in וְאִכָּבְדָ֣ה בְּפַרְעֹ֗ה 'and I will get glory over Pharaoh' (Exod. 14.4), וּדְבָרַ֞י אֲשֶׁר־שַׂ֣מְתִּי בְּפִ֗יךָ 'and my words which I have put in your mouth' (Isa. 59.21), and similar cases. If a vowel occurs instead of *shewa*, then the rule of אֹוֹיֹהֹ is observed, as in אַל־יֵ֣רֶא בפְלַגּ֑וֹת נַהֲרֵ֥י 'He will not look upon the rivers, the streams' (Job 20.17).

ואמתאל דלך פאן צאר תחת אלחרף אלמדכור סוא אלמלכין אלמדכורין אשתד אליוד ולם יתבת שרט אלאׄוׄיׄהׄ כקו אולי תערוצי יאתרי בנו ומי גוי גדול ואמתאל דלך ויסתתני עלי דלך בלפצֿה ואחדה

**II.S.2.10.**

אלכאסרה אלתאמנה חרפין מתראדפין כל בֵאַין או כאפין תראדפא אלואחד בעד אלאכר מן דון בקיה אלחרוף אעני בֿגֿדֿ כֿפֿתֿ וכאן תחת אלאול מנהמא שוא כסר שרט אלאׄוׄיׄהׄ מתל ויהי בבואה ותתפשיהו בבגדו והלא ככרכמיש אלי גיר דלך פאן כאן תחת אלאול מנהמא עוׄץ אלשוא מלך תבת שרט אלאׄוׄיׄהׄ כקו והוא אשה בבתוליה יקח אזלו בבהילו לירושלם ואמתאלהמא

**II.S.2.11.**

אלכאסרה אלתאסעה בי ופי אלכלאם פיהא כאלכלאם פי אלכאסרה אלתי קבלהא מן גיר כלף והו אן כל בי ובעדה פי אדא כאן תחת אלבי שוא כסר שרט אלאׄוׄיׄהׄ כקוׄ ואכבדה בפרעה אשר שמתי (S20:5r) בפיך ומא מאתלהמא פאן צאר עוׄץ אלשוא מלך תבת שרט אלאׄוׄיׄהׄ כקוׄ אל ירא בפלגות נהרי

**II.S.2.12.**

Take note that seven cases of *kaf* after וַיְהִי are the subject of disagreement, some pronounce them with *dagesh* and others pronounce them with *rafe*, namely וַיְהִ֨י כִשְׁמֹ֜עַ אֲדֹנָ֗יו 'when his master heard' (Gen. 39.19), וַיְהִ֣י כְשָׁמְע֔וֹ 'and when he heard' (Gen. 39.15), וַיְהִ֨י כִרְאוֹת֜וֹ 'and when he saw' (Jud. 11.35), וַיְהִ֨י כִרְא֜וֹת 'and when (the king) saw' (Esther 5.2), וַיְהִ֨י כְהוֹצִיאָ֤ם 'and when they brought (them) out' (Gen. 18.17), וַיְהִ֣י כְמָלְכ֗וֹ 'when he became king' (1 Kings 15.29), וַיְהִ֨י כַאֲשֶׁר־תַּ֜מּוּ 'and when they perished' (Deut. 2.16).[2] The reader makes a choice: if he wants, he strengthens them (with *dagesh*), and if he wants, he pronounces them with *rafe*.

**II.S.2.13.**

Take note that the criterion of the (rule of) the אוי״ה letters and the בגדכפת letters should be based on pronunciation and not on writing. For example in וַיַּ֥רְא בָּלָ֖ק 'and Balak saw' (Num. 22.2) the *bet* is pronounced with *dagesh*, because the last letter heard when you read וַיַּרְא is *resh*. An opposite case is וְעָשִׂ֥יתָ בַדֵּ֖י עֲצֵ֣י שִׁטִּ֑ים 'and you will make poles of acacia wood' (Exod. 25.23). The last letter heard when you read the word וְעָשִׂ֥יתָ is *ʾalef* or *he*, and therefore the *bet* of בַדֵּ֖י is pronounced *rafe*. This is the principle throughout the reading of Scripture.

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[2] The fuller citation וַיְהִ֨י כַאֲשֶׁר־תַּ֜מּוּ as opposed to simply וַיְהִ֨י כַאֲשֶׁר in the text of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* is given in *Kitāb al-Khilaf* (ed. Lipschütz, 1965, 19).

**II.S.2.12.**

ואעלם אן סבעה כאפאת בעד ויהי הי כלף בעץ̇ ידגשהא ובעץ̇ ירפיהא והי כשמוע כשמעו כראותו כראות כהוציאם כמלכו כאשר אלקאר מכייר אן <שא> ישד ואן שא ירפי

**II.S.2.13.**

ואעלם אן אלמעול פי אלא̇ו̇י̇ה̇ ו̇ב̇ג̇ד̇ כ̇פ̇ת̇ עלי אללפט̇ לא עלי אלכט מתל וירא בלק גא אלבי מדגוש לאן אכר חרף סמע מנך פי וירא אלריש ובעכסה ועשית בדי עצי אכר חרף סמע מנך פי ועשית אמא אלף ואמא הי פלדלך גא אלבי מרפי מן ב̄די ועלי הדה אלסירה תסיר פי אלמקרא כלה

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118 שא[1]] S5:9r *omitted* S20

## II.S.3.0.

## (*TAV*)

Take note that *tav* in three places is strengthened with *dagesh* to a greater degree than (other) cases of *tav* with *dagesh*. These are וַיְשִׂימֶ֥הָ תֵּֽל־עוֹלָ֖ם שְׁמָמָ֑ה 'He made it an eternal heap of ruins' (Josh. 8.28), וְֽאֶת־בָּ֨תָּ֜יו וְגַנְזַכָּ֗יו 'and its houses and its treasuries' (1 Chron. 28.11), וְגֻבְרַיָּ֣א אִלֵּ֗ךְ תְּלָ֨תֵּה֔וֹן 'and these three men' (Dan. 3.23). Note that there is disagreement concerning every *tav* in the form בָּתִּים, except in וְֽאֶת־בָּ֨תָּ֜יו וְגַנְזַכָּ֗יו (1 Chron. 28.11). Whoever wishes to pronounce it with the normal *dagesh* of *tav*, may do so and whoever wishes to pronounce it with the heaviness of the *tav* of וְֽאֶת־בָּ֨תָּ֜יו וְגַנְזַכָּ֗יו (1 Chron. 28.11), may do so, on condition that this is when there is a conjunctive accent and a disjunctive accent in the word without an intervening letter.

## II.S.3.0.

ואעלם אן אלתיו ידגש פי תלתה ומואצ̇ע ואידא ען סאיר אלתָוַאת מדגושה והי וישימיה תל עולם שממה ובּ֗תיו וגנזכיו וגבריא אלך תלתהון ואעלם אן כל תיו פי לשון בתים מא סוא ובתיו וגנזכיו הו כלף ומן אראד אן יכרגה בדגש אלתיו אלמעהוד אכרגה ומן אראד יכרגה <בתקל> (S20:5v) תיו ובתיו אכרגה בשרט אנה אדא כאן פי אללפט̇ה כאדם ולחן וליס בינהמא חרף

127 אן] S25:2r *omitted*   128 בתקל] S25:2r במתל S20

## II.S.4.0.

## SECTION CONCERNING THE VOWELS

**II.S.4.1.**

What is to be said concerning the vowels is manifest and clear, and not obscure, because it is through them that the purpose of a speaker is understood, and without them speech would be nonsense. A letter can be without a vowel, but a vowel cannot be without a letter.

**II.S.4.2.**

The total number of vowels is seven: אָ, אַ, אֶ, אֵ, אִ, אֹ and אֻ. From within these seven vowels the letters א, ה, ו, and י are pronounced. From *qameṣ, pataḥ* and *segol*[3] *ʾalef* and *he* are pronounced, as in עֲבָדֶיךָ, עַמֶּךָ and קָשֶׁה. If the *he* (in קָשֶׁה) were elided, the *segol* (by itself) would indicate its existence, just as the *qameṣ* in עַמְּךָ, שִׁמְךָ and עֲבָדֶיךָ indicates the existence of *ʾalef* or *he* in full orthography. Likewise שָׁמַר and זָכַר—the *pataḥ* indicates the existence of *ʾalef*. *Ḥolem*[4] indicates the existence of *vav*, as in זוֹכֵר, שׁוֹמֵר and the like. *Ṣere*[5] and *ḥireq*[6] indicate the existence of *yod*, as in עֵינִי, since the *yod* is frequently written defectively but these two vowels indicate its existence.

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[3] Literally: the three (points). | [4] Literally: the point above. | [5] Literally: the two points. | [6] Literally: the point below.

## II.S.4.0.

## (S8:2v) פצל פי אלכלאם פי אלמלוך

**II.S.4.1.**

אלכלאם פי אלמלוך טֿאהר גֿלי גֿיר כפי לאן בהא יפהם ען אלמתכלם גרצֿה ולולאהא לכאן אלכלאם עבתא (S15:3r) פחרף קד יכון בגיר מלך ומלך לא יכון בגיר חרף

**II.S.4.2.**

וגמיע אלמלוך סבעה והם אָ אַ אֶ אֵ אִ אֹ אֻ ויכרג מן צֿמן הדה אלסבעה חרוף אלאֹויֹה יכרג ען אלקמץ ואלפתח ואלתלאתה אלף והא והי מתל עבדיך <עמיד> קָשֶׁה לו חדף אלהא לכאן אלגֿ קד דלת עליה כמא דלת אלקמץ פי <עמך ושמך ועַבָדֶ֫יך פי אלמלא עלי אלף או הא> וכדלך שָׁמַר וְזָכַּר קד דלת אלפתחה עלי אלף <ואלנקטה מן פוק תדל עלי ואו מתל זוֹכֵר שׁוֹמֵר> ומא מאתלהמא ואלנקטתין <ואלנקטה מן אספל> תדל עלי יוֹד מתל <עיני> לאן קד יגֿי אליוד פי כתיר מן אלמואצֿע חסר והדין אל

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136 עמיד] S17:1v עמד S15 137 עמד...138 הא] S17:1v עִמְּכָהּ וּשִׁמְכָהּ ופי אלמלא עלי אלף S15 פי עמךְ ושמךְ ועבדיךְ פי אלמלא עלי אלף S16:4r 139 ואלנקטה...שׁוֹמֵר] S17:1v ואלנקטה מן פוק ואלשֻׁרוק תדל עלי ואו מתל זוֹכֵר שׁוֹמֵר יֵקם כִּפֵּר S15 140 ואלנקטה...אספל] S18:7r אלחֵרֶק S15 141 עיני] S17:1v עֵנִי S15

*Qibbuṣ*[7]and *shureq*[8] indicate the existence of *vav* as in קוּמוּ. So what is pronounced from within the seven vowels are the letters א, ה, ו, and י.

[7] Literally: the arrowhead. | [8] Literally: the point in the heart of the *vav*.

(S15:3v) אלמלכין ידלאן עליה <ואלזֽג ואלנקטה פי קלב אלואו ידלאן עלי אלואו מתל קומו> פצאר אלכארג מן צׄמן אלמלוך אלסבעה אׄהׄוׄ

142 ואלזֽג...143 קומו] S18:7r *omitted* S15

## II.S.5.0.

## SECTION CONCERNING THE *SHEWA*

### II.S.5.1.

The *shewa* is to be classified into two categories: quiescent and mobile. The distinctive feature of the quiescent *shewa* is that it makes quiescent the letter under which it is present and puts it in the group (of letters) that precedes it, as in יִשְׂרָאֵל 'Israel', יֶחְדְּיָהוּ 'Jehdeiah', זִמְרִי 'Zimri', לְמִשְׁעִי 'for cleansing' (Ezek. 16.4), וּפִסְלִי וְנִסְכִּי 'my graven image and my molten image' (Isa. 48.5). So the letter under which it is present has become quiescent, and has been separated from what follows it and conjoined to what is before it. It is also distinctive of its nature that it divides a word into (units that have) the status of words. This is because every letter at the end of word that is without a vowel and quiescent becomes the stopping point of the word and its place of division, like the *tav* in בְּרֵאשִׁית 'in the beginning' and like the *resh* in אוֹר 'light'. Likewise (a quiescent letter) in the middle (of a word) has the status of a stopping point, as in הַֽמְצַפְצְפִים 'those who chirp' (Isa. 8.19), תִּרְכַּבְנָה 'they (fpl.) ride', תְּשַׁלַּחְנָה 'they (fpl.) send'. Each one of these words has the status of three words on account of the quiescent *shewa*. If it were absent, such a division would not be correct.

### II.S.5.2.

The distinctive feature of the mobile (*shewa*) is that when it is under a letter, the letter is not static or at rest, as, for example, the *zayin* in זְכוֹר and the *shin* in שְׁמוֹר, and similar cases. Just as a quiescent letter groups with what comes before it, a mobile letter groups with what is after it, the opposite (of what is the

## II.S.5.0.

## פצל פי אלכלאם עלי אלשוא

**II.S.5.1.**

אלשוא ינקסם קסמין סאכן ומתחרך עלאמה אלסאכן אנה יסכן אלחרף אלדי הוא תחתה ויגעלה פי חזב מא תקדמה נחו יִשְׂרָאֵל יחדיהו זמרי למשעי ופסלי ונסכי פצאר אלחרף אלדי תחתה סאכנא ואנפצל ממא בעדה ואנטֿאף אלי מא קבלה ומן עלאמתה איצֿא אנה יקסם אלכלמה מתאבה כלם לאן כל חרף הו פי אכר כלמה אדא ערי מן מלך כאן סאכן לאנה יציר מחט אלכלמה ומקטעהא נחו אלתאו מן בראשית ונחו אלריש פי אור וכדלך חכמה פי אלוסט יציר מחט עלי וגֿה המצפצפים תרכבנה תשלחנה צאר (S15:4r) כל כלמה מן האולאי מתאבה גֿ כלם לאגל אלשוא אלסאכן ולו אנעדם לם תצח אלקסמה

**II.S.5.2.**

עלאמה אלמתחרך הו אנה אדא כאן תחת חרף לא יסתקר דלך אלחרף ולא יסכן נחו אלזאי מן זכור ואלשין מן שמור ואמתאלהמא וכמא צאר אלסאכן מתחייז אלי מא קבלה כדא צאר אלמתחרך מתחייז אלי מא בעדה באלעכס מן אלסאכן

case) with a quiescent letter, as in מַלְכְּכֶם ‘your (pl.) king’, in which the *lamed* is quiescent with a quiescent *shewa* and groups with the *mem*, whereas the *kaf* is mobile with a mobile *shewa* and groups with the next *kaf*. The same applies to וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ ‘and they lay down’, וַיִּקְבְּרוּ ‘and they buried’, and similar cases.

**II.S.5.3.**

If there is doubt in some cases as to whether the *shewa* is quiescent or mobile, the endowing of heaviness to the letter before the letter with the *shewa* indicates that it is mobile. This applies to הַמְ at the beginning of words. When *shewa* is under the *mem* and *pataḥ* is under the *he* and it (i.e. the *pataḥ*) is made heavy, then the *shewa* is mobile.

**II.S.5.4.**

The mobility of the *shewa* can also be ascertained by the number of letters of the word. If there are five letters, then the *shewa* is mobile, as in הַֽמְקַנֵּ֥א ‘are (you) jealous?’ (Num. 11.29), הַֽמְחַכֶּ֫ה ‘the one who waits’ (Dan. 12.12), הַֽמְשַׂמֵּ֣חַ ‘one that cheers’ (Jud. 9.13), הַֽמְדַבֵּ֥ר ‘the one that speaks’ (Gen. 45.12, etc.), and similar cases, except for one word, namely מַדּ֛וּעַ בָּֽא־הַמְשֻׁגָּ֥ע הַזֶּ֖ה ‘why did this madman come’ (2 Kings 9.11). The number of letters is five but the *shewa* is not mobile. The reason for this is that the *he* has not been made heavy. If words consist of more than five letters and *he* and *mem* are at their beginning, the *shewa* in them is sometimes quiescent and sometimes mobile. The rule concerning this is that if the accent is on the fifth letter, or one after this, then the *shewa* is quiescent, such as הַֽמְדַבְּרִ֑ים ‘the ones

מתל מַלְכְּכֶם אלדי אללמד סאכן באלשוא אלסאכן ואנחאז אלי אלמים ואלכף תחרך באלשוא אלמתחרך ואנחאז אלי אלכף אלאכר ונחו וישכבו ויקברו ואמתאל דלך

**II.S.5.3.**

ואדא אשתכל אלשוא פי בעץׄ אלמואצׄע הל הוא סאכן או מתחרך פאלתתקיל פי אלחרף אלדי קבל חרף אלשוא ידל עלי אנה (S15:4v) מתחרך מן דלך <הַמְ> פי אואיל אלכלאם אדא כאן תחת אלמם שוא ותחת אלהא פתחה והו מתקל פאן אלשוא מתחרך

**II.S.5.4.**

יעתבר איצׄא תחריך אלשוא בעדד חרוף אלכלמה אן כאנת כמסה חרוף פאלשוא מתחרך מתל המקנא המחכה הַמְשַׁמֵּחַ המדבר ונחוהם אלא כלמה ואחדה והי מדוע <בא> המשגע הזה אלעדד כמסה חרוף ולם יתחרך אלשוא ואלסבב פי דלך אן אלהא גיר מתקל פאן כאן מן אלכלאם אלתי הי אזיד מן כמסה חרוף ואלהׄמ הא ואלמים פי אולהא פאלשוא פיהא תארה סאכן ותארה מתחרך פאלשרט פי דלך הוא אן כאן אללחן עלי אלחרף אלכאמס (S9:2r) ומא זאד כאן אלשוא סאכן מתל

165 הַמְ] S7:6v S18:8r תַמְ S15   170 בא] S15 *omitted*

speaking' (Exod. 6.27, etc.), הַֽמְאָרֲרִ֑ים (Num. 5.19) 'those that curse' (Num. 5.22, etc.), הַֽמְצַפְצְפִ֖ים 'those who chirp' (Isa. 8.19), apart from the exceptions (to this rule) הַֽמְבַקְשִׁ֖ים (Exod. 4.19) 'those who seek', הַֽמְצֹרָעִ֜ים 'the lepers' (2 Kings 7.8), and similar cases.

**II.S.5.5.**

The *shewa* on successive identical letters in the middle of a word can also give rise to uncertainty, when *shewa* is on the first of the two, as to whether this is mobile or quiescent. Consideration should be made as to whether there is heaviness in (the vowel of) the letter before them (i.e. the two successive letters). If this occurs, either through a *gaʿya*, or an accent or the lengthening of a vowel, then the *shewa* is mobile, as in וּבָֽזְזוּ֙ אֶת־בֹּ֣זְזֵיהֶ֔ם 'they will plunder those who plundered them' (Ezek. 39.10), וְשָֽׁלְלוּ֙ אֶת־שֹׁ֣לְלֵיהֶ֔ם 'they will despoil those who despoiled them' (Ezek. 39.10), וּֽלְלַמְּדָ֥ם סֵ֖פֶר 'and to teach them the writing' (Dan. 1.4), and similar cases, except for six cases, in which heaviness occurs (on the vowel of the preceding letter) but the *shewa* is not mobile, namely אָ֣ז יִ֭קְרָאֻנְנִי וְלֹ֣א אֶֽעֱנֶ֑ה יְ֝שַׁחֲרֻ֗נְנִי וְלֹ֣א יִמְצָאֻֽנְנִי 'Then they will call upon me, but I will not answer; they will seek me diligently but will not find me' (Prov. 1.28), בַּצַּ֣ר לָהֶ֔ם יְשַׁחֲרֻֽנְנִי 'and in their distress they seek me' (Hos. 5.15), אֲ֭נִי אֹהֲבַ֣י אֵהָ֑ב וּ֝מְשַׁחֲרַ֗י יִמְצָאֻֽנְנִי 'I love those who love me, and those who seek me diligently find me' (Prov. 8.17), . זֹבֵ֥חַ תּוֹדָ֗ה יְֽכַבְּדָ֫נְנִי 'He who brings thanksgiving as his sacrifice honours me' (Psa. 50.23).

המדברים המאררים המצפצפים אלא שואד המבקשים המצורעים ונחוהמא

**II.S.5.5.**

וקד ילבס אלשוא פי אלחרפין אלמתראדפין פי וסט אלכלמה אדא כאן תחת אלאול מנהמא שוא אהו מתחרך אם סאכן פליעתבר באלתתקיל פי אלחרף אלדי קבלהמא אן כאן <חאצל> או בגעיה או בטעם או אסתיפא מלך פאלשוא מתחרך מתל וּבָזְזוּ אֶת בּוֹזְזֵיהֶם וְשָׁלְלוּ אֶת שׁוֹלְלֵיהֶם וּלְלַמְּדָם סֵפֶר ואמתאל דלך מא סוי סת מואצׄע פאן אלתתקיל חאצל ומא תחרך אלשוא והם אז יִקְרָאוּנְנִי וְלֹא אֶעֱנֶה יְשַׁחֲרוּנְנִי וְלֹא (S9:2v) ימצאונני בצר להם ישחרונני אני אוהבי אהב ומשחרי ימצאונני זובח תודה יכבדנני:

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181 חאצל] תאצל S9

**II.S.5.6.**

Take note that a mobile *shewa* never occurs on a second letter (of a word) that has a silent (following letter), because it (this second letter) is mobile due to the mobility of the first letter with *shewa*. A (*shewa* on) the third letter after (an initial mobile) *shewa* may be quiescent or mobile, as in לְיִשְׂרָאֵל 'to Israel', בְּיִרְמְיָ֣הוּ 'against Jeremiah' (Jer. 29.27, etc.), לְיָשְׁבְּקָ֫שָׁה 'to Joshbekashah' (1 Chron 25.24).

**II.S.5.7.**

Take note that when a letter has a vowel under it, the letter is mobile and quiescence occurs in the following (letter), for example in שָׁ֯מַ֯ר and קָ֯בַ֯ר quiescence occurs on the *ʾalef* that is pronounced from within the *qameṣ* and the *pataḥ*.

**II.S.5.6.**

ואעלם אן אלשוא אלמתחרך לא יקע פי אלחרף אלתאני לה סכון בתה לאנה יתחרך לאגל חרכת אלאול באלשוא ואלתאלת ללשוא קד יכון סאכן וקד יכון מתחרך מתל לישראל בירמיה לישבקשה

**II.S.5.7.**

(S12:1r) ואעלם אן אלחרף אדא כאן תחתה מלך כאן דלך אלחרף מתחרך ואלסכון קד יקע פי אלתאני מתל שָׁמַר קָבַר אלסכון יקע פי אלאלף אלכארגֿ מן אלקאמצה ואלפאתחה:

# II.S.6.0.

The (discussion of the) mobile *shewa* should be divided into various subsections.

## II.S.6.1. The First Subsection

### II.S.6.1.1.

This concerns the influence that it undergoes in connection with the letters א, ה, ח and ע. When these four letters are preceded by a letter that is not one of them and under this letter there is *shewa*, this *shewa* is pronounced as a short (vowel) with the pronunciation of the vowel that is under the four letters, unless it is appropriate for *gaʿya* to be combined with it. If this may appropriately be combined with it, it is pronounced with the pronunciation of the vowel equal (in length), as in וְֽאִם־יִוָּתֵ֞ר 'and if there remains' (Exod. 29.34), וְאִם־כָּ֫כָה 'and if thus' (Num. 11.15), וְאֶת־מִגְרָשֶׁ֫יהָ 'and its surrounding pasture lands' (1 Chron 6.40, etc.), וְאֶת־בָּנָ֑יו 'and his sons' (Gen. 9.1, etc.). This is a sample of cases with *ʾalef*.

### II.S.6.1.2.

*He*: When *shewa* is before *he*, the *shewa* is pronounced (with the same pronunciation) as the pointing of the *he*, for example in וְהָיָה the *vav* is pronounced with a short *qameṣ* and in וְֽהָיָה the *shewa* is pronounced with long *qameṣ* on account of the *gaʿya*.

### II.S.6.1.3.

*Ḥeth*: וְחֵ֫שֶׁב אֲפֻדָּתוֹ֮ 'and the skilfully woven band' (Exod. 28.8, etc.), וְחָלָ֫ה חֶ֙רֶב֙ 'and the sword will rage' (Hos. 11.6), כִּ֠י רְֽחוֹקָה־הִ֫יא 'because it is far' (Jdg 18.28).

## II.S.6.0.

אלשוא אלמתחרך הו אלמפתן באלפנון

### II.S.6.1. אלפן אלאול

**II.S.6.1.1.**
הו מא יחצל לה מן אלתאתיר פי ארבע חרוף אׄהׄחׄעׄ פאן הדה אלארבע חרוף אדא כאן קבל אחדהא חרף מן סואהא תחתה שוא כרגׄ דלך אלשוא בכרוגׄ אלמלך אלדי תחת אלארבעה חרוף (S12:1v) מכפפא אלא אן כאן יחסן מעה דכול אלגעיה פאן חסן מעה דכולהא כרגׄ בכרוגׄ אלמלך סוא נחו ואם יותר ואם ככה ואת מגרשיה ואת בניו הדא נמודגׄ פי אלאלף

**II.S.6.1.2.**
אלהא אדא כאן אלשוא קבל אלהא כרגׄ אלשוא בנקט אלהא נחו והיה כרגׄ אלואו בקאמצה כפיפה והיה כרגׄ אלשוא בקאמצה תקילה לאגׄל אלגעיה

**II.S.6.1.3.**
אלחֵית וחשב אפדתו וחלה חרב כי רחוקה היא

**II.S.6.1.4.**

*ʿAyin*: בָּר֣וּךְ יְהוָ֣ה לְ֭עוֹלָם ‘blessed be the Lord for ever’ (Psa. 89.53), יְהִ֤י שְׁמ֨וֹ לְֽעוֹלָ֗ם ‘may his name be for ever’ (Psa. 72.17), בְּעֵינֵ֖י אֱלֹהִ֣ים ‘in the eyes of God’ (Prov. 3.4), וְאִם֩ רַ֨ע בְּֽעֵינֵיכֶ֜ם ‘and if it is bad in your eyes’ (Josh. 24.15).

**II.S.6.1.5.**

Now this rule is applied to *shewa* with the four letters when the *shewa* is under a letter that is not one of these four. If it is one of the four letters, the rule does not apply, as in יִמְחֲאוּ־כָ֑ף ‘let them clap their hands’ (Psa. 98.8, etc.), אֱלָהֲהוֹן֮ דִּֽי ‘the God of’ (Dan. 3.28, etc.).

**II.S.6.1.6.**

Take note that when *shewa* occurs under *vav* before a letter of (the verbal prefixes) א, י, נ or ת, it is more suitable (to express) the future than the past. When instead of the *shewa* a vowel appears under the *vav*, it is more suitable (to express) the past than the future tense, as in וָאֶעְדֵּ֖ךְ עֶ֑דִי וָאֶתְּנָ֤ה ‘and I decorated you with ornaments and I gave’ (Ezek. 16.11), וָאָקֻ֥ם בַּבֹּ֛קֶר ‘and I rose in the morning’ (1 Kings 3.21). If a *shewa* had occurred in place of these *qameṣ* vowels, the verb would have been future. This is one of the functions of the *shewa*.

**II.S.6.2. The Second Subsection**

**II.S.6.2.1.**

When *shewa* comes before *yod*, the *shewa* is always pronounced as *ḥireq*, irrespective as to what pointing the *yod* has, as in כִּ֣י בְֽיַד־אִשָּׁ֔ה ‘for into the hand of woman’ (Jud. 4.9), בְּיוֹם֙ הִקְרִ֣יב ‘on the day he consecrated’ (Lev. 7.35), לְֽיַבָּשָׁ֑ה ‘into dry land’ (Psa. 66.6), לְיוֹרָ֣ם ‘of Joram’ (2 Kings 8.16), and similar cases.

**II.S.6.1.4.**
אלעין ברוך יוי לעולם יהי שמו לעולם בעיני אלהים ואם רע בעיניכם

**II.S.6.1.5.**
אלאן הדא אלשרט לאזם פי אלשוא מע אלארבעה חרוף מתי כאן אלשוא תחת חרף מן סוי אלארבעה פאנה אן כאן מן אלארבעה בטל הדא אלשרט נחו ימחאו כף אלההום די

**II.S.6.1.6.**
ואעלם אן אדא ג̇את אלשוא תחת ואו קבל (S12:2r) חרף אינת כאנת באלאסתקבאל אחק מן אלמאצ̇י ואדא ג̇א תחת אלואו עוץ̇ אלשוא מלך כאן באלמאצ̇י אחק מן אלזמאן אלמסתקבל נחו ואעדך עדי ואתנה ואקום בבקר ולו ג̇את אלשוא מוצ̇ע הדה אלקואמץ כאן אלפעל מסתקבל והדה הו מן פואיד אלשוא

## II.S.6.2. אלפן אלתאני

**II.S.6.2.1.**
אלשוא אדא כאן קבל יוד כרג̇ אלשוא אבדא בנקטה מן אספל ולא יעתבר בנקט אליוד אישיהו מתל כי ביד אשה ביום הקריב ליבשה ליורם ונחו דלך

**II.S.6.2.2.**

Take note that when *shewa* occurs before *yod*, it generally indicates the indefinite, whereas a vowel before it indicates the definite, as in בְּי֥וֹם זִבְחֲכֶ֛ם 'on the day of your sacrifice' (Lev. 19.6), (which is) indefinite, and בַּיּ֣וֹם הַה֑וּא כֶּ֥רֶם 'on that day, a vineyard' (Isa. 27.2), (which is) definite, and so forth.

## II.S.6.3. The Third Subsection

**II.S.6.3.1.**

The remainder of the primary letters of Hebrew are seventeen, and to these should be added *yod*, so they come to eighteen. When *shewa* is under one of these eighteen at the beginning of a word, or in the middle of a word, where it has the same status (as one at) the beginning (of a word), the *shewa* is pronounced as a short *pataḥ* when it is not accompanied by a *gaʿya* and as a long *pataḥ* when it is accompanied by a *gaʿya*, as in בְּרׇב־עָ֥ם 'in a multitude of people' (Prov. 14.28), גְּרֻשֹׁתֵיכֶם֙ 'your evictions' (Ezek. 45.9), דְּרָכָיו 'his ways', וְרֹאשׁ־עֹ֛רֵב 'and the head of Oreb' (Jud. 7.25), זְכוֹר־יְהֹוָ֥ה 'remember, oh Lord' (Psa. 132.1), טְמֵאַ֣ת הַשֵּׁ֔ם 'unclean of name' (Ezek. 22.5), יְרְא֧וּ אֶת־יְהֹוָ֛ה 'fear the Lord' (Jos. 24.14), and other cases with these eighteen letters.

**II.S.6.3.2.**

Take note that these eighteen are (pronounced as if) pointed with *pataḥ*, but it is a feature of this *pataḥ* that it is only pronounced short. There is no way of (representing) its shortness other than by combining it with *shewa*. Since, however, the *shewa* according to their principles does not combine with a vowel under these eighteen letters, they have marked the *shewa* by itself. They could not have written the

**II.S.6.2.2.**

ואעלם אן אלשוא אדא כאן קבל אליוד פי אכתר אלמואצ̇ע דלת עלי אלמנכר ואלמלך קבלה ידל עלי אלמיודע מתל ביום זבחכם מנכר ביום ההוא כרם מיודע ונחו דלך

### II.S.6.3. אלפן אלתאלת

**II.S.6.3.1.**

אלבאקי מן (S12:2v) חרוף אלעבראני אלאצול סבעה̈ עשר ותרד אליהא אליוד תציר תמאניה̈ עשר אדא כאן אלשוא תחת אחד הדה אלתמאניה עשר פי אול אלכלאם או פי וסט אלכלאם בחית יג̇רי מג̇רי אלאבתדא כרג̇ אלשוא בפאתחה כפיפה אדא לם יכן מעה געיה ובפאתחה תקילה אדא כאן מעה געיה מתל ברב עם גרושותיכם דרכיו וראש ערב זכר יוי ט̣מאת השם יראו את יוי אלי ג̇יר דלך מן הדה אלתמאניה עשר חרפא

**II.S.6.3.2.**

ואעלם אן הדא אלתמאניה עשר נקטהא הי אלפאתחה ומן חכם הדה אלפאתחה̈ אלמדכורה לא ינטק בהא אלא כפיפה ולא וג̇ה לכפתהא אלא כון אלשוא מעהא ולמא לם יכן אלשוא פי אצולהם יג̇תמע מע מלך תחת הדה אלתמאניה עשר חרף ג̇עלו אלשוא פקט (S12:3r) ולם ימכנהם אן יג̇עלו אלפאתחה וחדהא

*pataḥ* by itself, since it would have been pronounced with its full length. I have discussed this subject at length in *The Guide for the Reader*, where you will find the matter explained clearly.

**II.S.6.4. The Fourth Subsection**

The *shewa* is never combined with a conjunctive or disjunctive accent on the same letter. This is because an accent cannot combine with a quiescent *shewa* on account of the incongruity (of their functions), since a letter is made mobile by an accent, whereas a quiescent *shewa* makes a letter quiescent, and a letter made quiescent by the *shewa* would have to be made mobile by the accent simultaneously, and this is impossible. Furthermore the mobile *shewa* gives a letter a mobility that has no endurance, like the *bet* in בְּרֵאשִׁית and the *zayin* in זְכוֹר, whereas a letter is given a stable mobility by an accent and it is given many different melodies, as in וַֽיְמַהֲר֞וּ וַיַּשְׁכִּ֟ימוּ ‘and they made haste and went out early’ (Josh. 8.14). So the mobility of an accent cannot be combined with the mobility of the *shewa* on account of the speed of the mobility of the *shewa*.

**II.S.6.5. The Fifth Subsection**

A letter following a mobile *shewa* is always *rafe*, as in בְּבֹאָ֣ם ‘when they enter’ (Exod. 28.43, etc.), בְּכָל־פִּנּוֹת ‘in every corner’ (cf. 2 Chron. 28.24), כְּכַלּ֣וֹת ‘on finishing’ (Deut. 31.24, etc.), and similar cases. The reason for this is that the *shewa*, since it wishes to have movement and speed, requires the lightness of the letter after it, because *dagesh* introduces a kind of heaviness in the letter.

לאנהא תג̇י מסתופאה וקד אסתקצית אלכלאם פי הדא אלמוצ̇ע פי הדאיה̈ אלקאר עלי מא אנת תג̇דה הנאך מבינא

**II.S.6.4. אלפן אלראבע**

אלשוא לא יג̇תמע לא מע לחן ולא מע כאדם פי חרף ואחד מעא בתה לאן אלטעם לא יג̇תמע מע שוא סאכן מן חית אלמנאקצ̇ה לאן אלטעם יתחרך בה אלחרף ואלשוא אלסאכן יסכן אלחרף פכאן יג̇ב אן יכון אלחרף סאכן באלשוא מתחרך באלטעם פי חאלה̈ ואחדה והדא פאסד ולאן אלשוא אלמתחרך יחרך אלחרף חרכה̈ לא תבאת פיהא כאלבא מן בראשית ואלזאי מן זכו̇ר ואללחן יתחרך בה אלחרף מוצ̇עה וינגם נגמאת כתירה מתל וימהרו וישכימו פלא יג̇תמע חרכה̈ אללחן (S12:3v) מע חרכה̈ אלשוא לסרעה אלשוא פי אלחרכה

**II.S.6.5. אלפן אלכאמס**

אלשוא אלמתחרך לא יכון אלחרף אלתאני מנה אבדא אלא רפי מתל בבואם בכל פנות ככלות ונחו דלך ואלוג̇ה פי דלך אן אלשוא למא אראד אלתחרך ואלסרעה אחתאג̇ אלי כפה̈ אלחרף אלדי בעדה לאן אלדגש הו תקל פי אלחרף עלי וג̇ה

### II.S.6.6. The Sixth Subsection

**II.S.6.6.1.**

A mobile *shewa* does not combine with a vowel on any of the Hebrew letters except the four letters א, ה, ח and ע, for example אֲנִי ‘I’, הֲלֹא הוּא ‘not he?’, וַחֲנֵה עַל־הָעִיר ‘and encamp against the city’ (2 Sam. 12.28), עֲלוּ ‘go up!’, and similar cases. If one sees this on other letters in some codices, this is because the scribe inteneded thereby to remove uncertainty, for example קֳדָם ‘before’, קֳדָמֵיהוֹן ‘before them’, מֲשְׁכוּ אוֹתָהּ ‘drag her!’ (Ezek. 32.20), וְשֲׁדְדוּ ‘and destroy!’ (Jer. 49.28). It is not, however, the opinion of all (that this practice is permissible). So you see that everybody combines *shewa* with a vowel under the four letters but only a few combine a vowel with *shewa* under the other eighteen letters, there being no consensus as to whether this (practice) be erroneous or not.

**II.S.6.6.2.**

Take note that if one wishes to remove a vowel from one of the four letters א, ה, ח or ע, and pronounce the *shewa*, that would be permissible. It is not permissible, however, to mark the vowel by itself, since a vowel by itself would be pronounced with its full length. So, understand this!

## II.S.6.6. אלפן אלסאדס

**II.S.6.6.1.**

אלשוא אלמתחרך לא יג̇תמע מע מלך פי חרף מן חרוף אלעבראני אלא פי ארבעה̈ חרוף אה̇ח̇ע̇ מתל <אֱני הֲלא הוא וַחֲנֶה על העיר עֲלו ונחו דלך ואן ראי מע סוי האולי אלארבעה פי בעץ̇ אלמצאחף פאלג̇רץ̇ בה מן כאתבה> לירפע <אלאשכאל מתל קֳדָם קֳדָמֵיהוֹן מֱשְׁכוּ אוֹתָה ושֱדדוּ> <וליס הדא ראי אלכל> (S12:4r) ולדלך תרי אלכל יג̇מעו אלשוא מע אלמלך תחת אלארבעה חרוף ומא סואהא מן בקיה̈ אלחרוף אלאקל יג̇מע אלמלך מע אלשוא פי אלמגלטאת ופי גיר מגלט מן אלתמאניה̈ עשר לא יג̇מע

**II.S.6.6.2.**

ואעלם אן לו אראדו אן יחדפו מן אלארבעה̈ חרוף אה̇ח̇ע̇ אלמלך ויסמע אלשוא לג̇אז דלך ולא יג̇וז אן יג̇עלו אלמלך וחדה מן חית אן אלמלך וחדה יסתופא פאפהמה

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255 אֲני...257 כאתבה] S20:8r פני יהוָה הלא היא [ ] עליו ונחו דלך ואן ראי מא סוי האולי אלארבעה פי בעץ̇ אלמואצ̇ע פאלג̇רץ̇ בה מן כאתבה S12 | 257 לירפע] ליערף S20:8r | 258 אלאשכאל...258 ושֱדדוּ] S20:8r אלאשכאל מתל קדם קדמֵיהוֹן משכו אותה S12 | 258 וליס...259 אלכל[1] S13:3v ולא הו ראי ללכל S12

### II.S.6.7. The Seventh Subsection

When a *shewa* is combined with a vowel under a letter, the vowel is prevented from being given its full length, as in חֳרֶ֥ם וּבֵֽית־עֲנָ֖ת ‘Ḥorem and Betanath’ (Josh. 19.38), גַּ֤ם כָּל־חֳלִי֙ ‘also every sickness’ (Deut. 28.61). Take note that the maintenance of the mobility of the *shewa* is more important than the maintenance of the full length because if they did not need to shorten the vowel and (read it) quickly, they would not have marked *shewa* with it.

### II.S.6.8. The Eighth Subsection

*Shewa* is combined with only three vowels. These are *qameṣ*, *pataḥ* and *segol*. This is because these three may be read with pause and also with speed.

### II.S.6.9. The Ninth Subsection

When *shewa* is at the beginning of a word, it is always mobile, as in לְעֶת־י֣וֹם ‘at the time of (each) day’ (1 Chron. 12.23), דְּבַר־מִ֥י יָק֖וּם ‘the word of whom will stand’ (Jer. 44.28), כְּחֹ֥ם הַיּֽוֹם ‘in the heat of the day’ (Gen. 18.1), and similar cases. This is because it is not permissible to begin (a word) with a quiescent letter. You will find the issues concerning this aspect explained in *The Guide for the Reader*. God knows best.

### II.S.6.10. The Tenth Subsection

A mobile *shewa* is followed by quiescence in the third letter after it, or one greater (in number than the third), as in, לְיָשְׁבְּקָ֔שָׁה ‘to Joshbekashah’ (1 Chron 25.24), לְיָקְמֳעָ֑ם ‘to Jokmeam’ (1 Kings 4.12), and the like, and as in cases in which

**II.S.6.7. אלפן אלסאבע**

אלשוא אדא אג̇תמע מע מלך תחת חרף מנע אלמלך מן אן יסתופי חט̇ה מן אלתקל מתל חרם ובית ענת גם כל חלי ואעלם אן תבות חרכה̈ אלשוא אולי מן תבות אסתיפא אלמלך לאן (S12:4v) לו לם יחתאג̇ו אלי כטף אלמלך וסרעתה לם יגעלו מעה אלשוא

**II.S.6.8. אלפן אלתאמן**

לא יג̇מע אלשוא אלא מע תלתה̈ מלוך פקט והי אלקאמצה ואלפאתחה ואלסגלה לאן הדה אלתלתה יצח פיהא אלתוקף ואלסרעה:

**II.S.6.9. אלפן אלתאסע**

אלשוא אדא כאן פי אול אלכלאם יכון אבדא מתחרך מתל לעת יום דבר מי יקום <כְחוֹם היום> ונחו דלך לאן לא יצח אלאבתדי בסאכן ואנת תג̇ד אלכלאם פי הדא אלפן משרוחא פי הדאיה̈ אלקאר ואללה אעלם

**II.S.6.10. אלפן אלעאשר**

אלשוא אלמתחרך יכון בעדה סכון פי אלחרף אלתאלת ומא זאד נחו לישבקשָה ליקמעם ואמתאלהמא ממא אלסכון פי

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the quiescence is in the third letter and also in what is beyond the third letter, such as אֱלֹהִים ‘God’ and בְּרוֹשִׁים ‘cypresses’.

### II.S.6.11. The Eleventh Subsection

A mobile *shewa* does not come next to a (mobile) *shewa* either at the beginning of a word, or in the middle of it, or at its end. This is because a word is mobile (with a vowel) and what attaches to this mobile component when it begins with (a mobile) *shewa* is of a lesser degree of mobility. A quiescent letter may follow these two. Therefore two mobile (*shewa*s) are not combined together, in the way that two quiescent ones can combine.

### II.S.6.12. The Twelfth Subsection

Two quiescent *shewa*s are not combined except at the end of a word, as in וַיִּ֥שְׁבְּ ‘and he captured’ (Num. 21.1), וְרָחַ֣צְתְּ ׀ וָסַ֣כְתְּ ‘and you will wash and anoint yourself’ (Ruth 3.3). Take note that when *shewa* under *shin* and *ṣade* is quiescent and *bet* and *tav* remain after it, they must obligatorily be made quiescent, because they do not have a letter next to them to which they could move towards.

### II.S.6.13. The Thirteenth Subsection

It is not possible to have a succession of two adjacent *shewas* the first of which is mobile and the second quiescent. Rather the first must be quiescent and the second mobile. Take note that *shewa* may be construed as a successive sequence (of two) even though only one is written, as in מִזְּעֹ֫ק ‘from crying’ (1 Sam. 7.8), מְזַבְּחִים ‘sacrificing’, מְחַלְּלִ֣ים ‘playing the pipe’ (1 Kings 1.40, etc.), מִמְּלֹ֥ךְ ‘from being king’ (1 Sam. 8.7, etc.), הַכְּמ֥וֹת ‘will it be like?’ (2 Sam. 3.33). The reason for this is that the letter is pronounced as two letters. This is the custom of Hebrew,

אלתאלת ומא זאד עלי אלתאלת מתל אלהים (S12:5r) ברושים

**II.S.6.11. אלפן אלחאדי עשר**

שוא מתחרך לא יגׄאור שוא לא פי אול אלכלאם ולא פי וסטה ולא פי אכרה לאן אלכלאם אנמא יכון מתחרך ומא ילחק באלמתחרך פהו אקל חרכה מן אלמתחרך אדא אבתדי באלשוא ואלסאכן קד יתבעהמא פלדלך לם יקתרנא מתחרכין כמא יקתרנא אלסאכנין

**II.S.6.12. אלפן אלתאני עשר**

שואין סאכנין לא יקתרנא אלא פי אכר אלכלמה מתל וישְׁבְ ורחצתְ וסכתְ ואעלם אן למא סכן אלשוא אלדי תחת אלשין ואלצדי ובקי בא ותו לם יכן בד מן תסכינהמא לאן ליס להמא חרף יגׄאורהמא פיתחרכא אליה

**II.S.6.13. אלפן אלתאלת עשר**

שואין מתראדפין אלאול מתחרך ואלתאני סאכן לא יגׄוז (S12:5v) תראדפהמא אלא אן יכון אלאול סאכן ואלתאני מתחרך ואעלם אן תם שוא בניתה עלי אלתראדף ואן כאן ליס אלא ואחד מכתוב נחו מזעק מזבחים מחללים ממלך הכמות ואלסבב פי דלך אן אלחרף יכרגׄ בחרפין פהדה סירה פי אלעבראני והוא

namely that every letter with strengthening, I mean with *dagesh*, in the middle of a word, where it does not have the status of beginning (a word or syllable), under which there is *shewa*, is pronounced as two letters.

### II.S.6.14. The Fourteenth Subsection

A *shewa* at the end of a word can only be silent, as in דֶּ֫רֶךְ, מֶ֫לֶךְ, and similar cases.

אן כל חרף משדד אעני מדגוש פי וסט כלמה בחית לא יגׄרי

מגׄרי אבתדי ותחתה שוא יכרגׄ בחרפין

**II.S.6.14. אלפן אלראבע עשר**

אלשוא פי אכר אלכלאם לא ימכן אן יכון אלא סאכן נחו דרך ומלך ואמתאלהמא

## II.S.7.0.

## SECTION ON THE NAMES OF THE VOWELS AND THEIR PLACE OF ARTICULATION

**II.S.7.1.**
The vowels are seven, namely אֹ, אָ, אַ, אֶ, אֵ, אִ, אֻ.

**II.S.7.2.**
The first is 'the point above' (i.e. *ḥolem*) because it moves along the surface of the whole mouth. Its name is *ḥolem*. The meaning of this is 'fullness', because it fills the whole mouth. They have derived (the name) from one of the languages that they used.

**II.S.7.3.**
The second is *qameṣ*, which is derived from וְקָמַ֣ץ הַכֹּהֵ֣ן 'and the priest will grasp' (Lev. 5.12, etc.), because it grips the mouth.

**II.S.7.4.**
The third is *pataḥ*, which opens the whole mouth, from פְּתַח־פִּ֥יךָ שְׁפָט־צֶ֑דֶק 'open your mouth, judge righteously' (Prov. 31.9).

**II.S.7.5.**
The fourth is *segol*, which consists of three dots below, as if they were a bunch of grapes.

**II.S.7.6.**
The fifth consists of two dots below in a line. Its name is *ṣere*,

## II.S.7.0.

# פצל פי אסמא אלמלוך ומחלהא

**II.S.7.1.**

אלמלוך סבעה והי אֹ אָ אַ אֶ אֵ אִ אֻ

**II.S.7.2.**

אלאול אלנקטה מן פוק לאנה יסיר עלי סטח אלפם כלה ואסמה חלם ומענאה (S12:6r) מלו לאנהא תמלא אלפם כלה ואשתקוה מן בעץׄ אללגאת אלתי מעהם

**II.S.7.3.**

אלתאני קאמצה משתקה מן וקמץ הכהֵן לאנהא תקבץׄ אלפם

**II.S.7.4.**

ואלתאלת אלפאתחה והי תפתח כל אלפם מן פתח פיך שפט צדק

**II.S.7.5.**

ואלראבע סגולה והי אלתלתה נקט מן אספל כאנהא ענקוד

**II.S.7.6.**

ואלכאמסה הי נקטתין מן אספל מצטפה אסמוהא צֵירִי

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310 חלם] חֹלם S3:10r חֹלֶם S22:1r

the meaning of which is ‘splitting’, because it splits between the teeth. They have derived it from the languages that they used.

**II.S.7.7.**

The sixth is one dot below. Its name is *ḥireq*, from וְחֹרֵ֖ק עָלָ֣יו שִׁנָּֽיו ‘and gnashes his teeth against him’ (Psa. 37.12). The meaning of this is that the teeth make a squeaking sound with it.

**II.S.7.8.**

The seventh consists of three dots (written) obliquely. It may be replaced by one dot in the heart of *vav*. Its name is *shureq*, meaning ‘whistling’, from לִשְׁמֹ֖עַ שְׁרִקֹ֣ות עֲדָרִ֑ים ‘to hear the whistlings of the flocks’ (Jud. 5.16), because it gathers the lips together.

ומענאהא שאק לאנהא תשק בין אלאסנאן וקד אשתקוהא מן אללגאת אלתי מעהם

**II.S.7.7.**

ואלסאדס הי נקטה ואחדה מן אספל ואסמוהא חרק מן וחרק עליו שניו ומעני דלך אן תצר בהא אלאסנאן צרא

**II.S.7.8.**

ואלסאבע תלתה נקט מוארבה וקד יכון עוצֿהא נקטהֿ ואחדה פי קלב <אלואו (S12:6v) אסמוהא שרק> במעני אלצפיר מן <לשמוע> שריקות עדרים לאנהא תגִמע אלשפתין

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319 חרק] חֶרֶק S1:8r   321 מוארבה] מורב S6:11r   322 אלואו... שרק] אלואו (+ אסמוהא מפק לאנהא תגִמע אלשפתין ואלתלתה נקט אלמוארבה S12) אסמוהא שרק S12 S6:11r   323 לשמוע] S6:11r אלשמע S12 S3:10v

# II.S.8.0.

# DISCUSSION CONCERNING THEIR PLACE OF ARTICULATION

**II.S.8.1.**

The place of articulation of *ḥolem* is the root of the tongue and the place of swallowing, and it moves over the surface of the entire mouth.

**II.S.8.2.**

The place of articulation of *qameṣ* is slightly above the root of the tongue, this being the (first) third of the tongue, and its movement is to above the palate.

**II.S.8.3.**

The place of articulation of *pataḥ* is the surface of the tongue downwards.

**II.S.8.4.**

The place of articulation of *segol* is the contraction of the sides of the mouth and its movement is upon the lower surface of the mouth.

**II.S.8.5.**

The place of articulation of *ṣere* is the teeth, without closure.

**II.S.8.6.**

The place of articulation of *ḥireq* is the closure of the teeth with force.

**II.S.8.7.**

The place of articulation of *shureq* is the lips gathered together (as if for) whistling.

## II.S.8.0.

## אלכלאם פי מחלהא

**II.S.8.1.**
מחל אלחלם עקר הלשון ובית הבליעה ומסירה עלי סטח אלפם כלה

**II.S.8.2.**
מחל אלקאמצה פוק אצל אללסאן קליל והי תלת אללסאן וחרכתהא אלי פוק אלחנך

**II.S.8.3.**
מחל אלפאתחה סטח אללסאן מן אספל

**II.S.8.4.**
מחל אלסגלָה צֻם אגאב אלפם וחרכתהא עלי סטח אלפם אלספלאני

**II.S.8.5.**
מחל אלצירי אלאסנאן בגיר טבק

**II.S.8.6.**
מחל אלחרק טבק אלאסנאן בקוה

**II.S.8.7.**
מחל אלשרק הוא שלשפתין מצֻמומתין באלצפיר

## II.S.9.0.

## SECTION CONCERNING THE *GAʿYA*

The *gaʿya* is an exhalation in speech, which conducts the reading along and carries it forward in a beautiful manner, animating the reader and moving him to read more. One reader omits it in some places whereas another reader sustains it. In sum, it has no principle, because it is not an accent, like a disjunctive accent or a conjunctive accent. It is marked on a slant to the right of the reader, similar to the marking of *ṭifḥa* and *mayela*. It is said that the *gaʿya* has no principle. It is never accompanied by *maqqef*, which is a line that links two words on account of the fact that one word does not have a disjunctive or conjunctive accent. This is because any word that has an accent does not have *maqqef*, unless a *gaʿya* can come before the accent, in which case a word may contain an accent and *maqqef* in some places. There are, however, some places from which *gaʿya* cannot be omitted, such as כִּ֣י לֹ֣א יָ֭שְׁנוּ ‘for they do not sleep’ (Prov. 4.16), which is from ‘sleeping and slumber’. If you were to omit it, it would come to mean ‘repeating’, as in אַֽחֲרֵ֣י דְ֭בָרִי לֹ֣א יִשְׁנ֑וּ ‘after my word they did not speak’ (Job 29.22), and similar cases where the meaning changes on account of it.

## II.S.9.0.

## פצל פי אלגעיה (S12:27r)

אלגעיה הי תנפס פי אלכלאם ותזף אלקראה ותסוקהא אחסן סיאק ותנשט אלקאר ותחרכה אלי אלתזיד פי אלקראה פקאר יחדפהא מן בעץ̇ אלמואצ̇ע וקאר יתבתהא ובאלגִמלה לא אצל להא לאנהא ליסת בנגמה (S12:27v) כאלאלחאן ואלכדאם <ונצבהא הו נצב בתמייל> אלי ימין אלקאר שביה בנצב אלטפחה ואלמאילה וקד קיל < אין אָב ללגעיה > והי אבדא יכון מעהא אלמקף והי כטה תוצל בין אלכלמתין אדא כאנת אלכלמה ליס פיהא לחן ולא כאדם לאן כל כלמה פיהא טעם לא יכון פיהא מקף אלא אן תגִי אלגעיה מן קדאם <אלטעם> פיציר פי אלכלמה טעם ומקף פי בעץ̇ אלמואצ̇ע <גיר אן תם מואצ̇ע לא ימכן חדף אלגעיה מנהא> מתל כי לא ישנו אלדי הו מן אלוסן ואלנום ולו חדפת לצאר מן אלתתניה מתל אחרי דברי לא יִשְׁנו ונחוה ממא יתגיר אלמעני לאגִלהא

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340 ונצבהא...בתמייל] S2:17v S19:5v וינצבהא פהו נצב בתמ[ ]
S12 341 אין...ללגעיה] S26:1v אֵין אָב לל[ ] S24:1v אֵן אָב ללגָעְיָה
S19:5v אין אב ללגעיה S23:16v אין אבל לגעיה S28:3v אין אין אב
ללגעיה S12:27v S2:17v 344 אלטעם] S19:5v אלמארכה S12
345 גיר...346 מנהא] S19:5v תם מוצ̇ע לא ימכן חדף אלגעיה מנה S12

# COMMENTARY ON *HIDĀYAT AL-QĀRIʾ*

## LONG VERSION

### ➢ II.L.0.0.

The long version opens with an introduction, which presents various aspects of the background of the ensuing work. ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn included such authorial paratexts in his other works. His grammatical work *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* contains a preface and an introduction (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 10-19). The abridgement of *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* known as *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd fī Taṣārīf al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya* 'The Book of Rules regarding the Grammatical Inflections of the Hebrew Language', which was compiled by an anonymous contemporary of ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn, likewise contains an introduction (ed. Vidro 2013a, 22–25). ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn's glossary of difficult words, which is referred to as *Tafsīr ʾAlfāẓ al-Miqrā* 'Explanation of the words of Scripture' and several variant titles, contains a postface added at the end of the work, which served the same purpose as a preface and an introduction (Goldstein 2014).

Authorial paratexts, in the form of prefaces, introductions and postfaces, are a characteristic feature of contemporary medieval Arabic literary compositions.[1] The addition of such a paratext, therefore, in the works of ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn reflects convergence with the Arabic literary models.

[1] See Freimark (1967) and the discussion and references in Goldstein (2014).

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An introductory paratext is found in some earlier works written by Jewish scholars, such as the Masoretic treatise *Seder ha-Simanim* (Allony 1965, ט־י) and some works of Saadya in the tenth century, such as his lexicon *ha-ʾEgron* (ed. Allony 1969a, 148–63) and his Bible commentaries (Stroumsa 2007).

The beginning of the introduction to the long version of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* is missing. If we compare it, however, with the corresponding introduction in the short version, which has been preserved in its entirety, it can be safely assumed that only a short amount of text is missing.

The introduction can be divided into various components, many of which contain standard themes in such authorial paratexts. §II.L.0.1. discusses the reasons why the principles of biblical reading need to be studied. §II.L.0.2.—§II.L.0.6 concern the historical background of the Tiberian reading and its antiquity. §II.L.0.7.—§II.L.0.8. describe the history of the discipline of fixing rules for the correct reading. §II.L.0.9. explains the author's motivation to write the work and summarizes its contents.

ʾAbū al-Faraj states in §II.L.0.9. that the purpose of the work was essentially compilatory, in that it brings together in a comprehensive way specialist works and oral teachings of his predecessors, who remain anonymous. This section contains a 'request to compose' without specifying the name of the requester. This is a standard feature of Arabic introductions of the period and it is often no more than a fictional trope (Freimark 1967, 36–40). As is typical, this 'request to compose' is combined with a modesty trope in which the author acknowledges his own imperfections.

In some cases, we know that medieval Karaite works were commissioned by specific individuals. In the postface to his *Kitāb ʾAlfāẓ al-Miqrā,* ʾAbū al-Faraj indicates the name of the requester, viz. ʾAbū al-Ṭayyib Samuel ibn Manṣūr (Goldstein 2014), who commissioned the work for his children. Another case is the short commentary of ʾAbū al-Faraj Furqān ibn ʾAsad (Yeshuʿa ben Yehuda), in the introduction of which it is indicated that the work was commissioned by the wealthy patron ʾAbū al-Ḥasan Dāʾūd ibn ʿImrān ibn Levi (Khan 1993; Polliack 1997, 47–48). An alternative process is attested in the manuscripts containing the grammatical commentary of the Karaite Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ, known as the *Diqduq*, in which there is a document indicating that the author dedicated the work as a pious foundation to the Karaite community (Khan 2000b, 153–54).

The introduction to *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* has a particular focus on the accents rather than the consonants and vowels. This suggests that the main interest of ʾAbū al-Faraj in the work were the accents. Indeed one early source that is apparently referring to *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* calls it *Kitāb al-ʾAlḥān* 'The Book of the Accents' (see § II.Int.0.3.). One of the later European recensions of the work, furthermore, had the title *Ṭaʿame ha-Miqra* 'The Accents of the Bible' (see vol. 1, §I.0.13.1.).

It should be noted, however, that the adducing of examples of different positioning of accents as a means of demonstrating the importance of the knowledge of correct reading in §II.L.0.1. has a close counterpart in the introduction by ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn to his grammatical work *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī,* which demon-

strates the importance of the knowledge of grammar. A large proportion of the introduction of *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 12-19) concerns the positioning of accents and, indeed, several of the examples are the same as those presented in the introduction to *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*. The shared examples, moreover, are used to demonstrate the same points. These include the following. The accent position can distinguish between past tense, e.g. הַשָּׁ֤בָה (Ruth 2.6) ‘who returned’ and present tense, e.g. וְשָׁבָ֞ה (Lev. 22.13) ‘and she returns’. The position of the accent can distinguish between lexical meaning, e.g. שָׁ֨בוּ֩ ‘they have turned back’ (Jer. 11.10) but שָׁב֖וּ ‘they captured’ (Gen. 34.29). Furthermore, the same issues of accent position with overlapping examples also occur in §I.1.1. of *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* and in a passage in ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn’s reworking of Ibn Nūḥ’s commentary on the Pentateuch (Goldstein 2014, 367).

It is likely, therefore, that the use by ʾAbū al-Faraj of the arguments relating to accent position in his introduction to *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* was to some extent motivated by the fact that similar argumentation was already at hand in passages in his other works. Distinction of meaning arising from accent position was, moreover, a particularly salient demonstration of how precise knowledge of the language is important for correct interpretation of Scripture.

### ➢ II.L.0.1.

לגה אלרגוע ... לגה אלסבי

lexical class of ‘returning’ … lexical class of ‘capturing’

In the linguistic thought of Karaite grammarians of the tenth and eleventh centuries, inflections and derivative forms of a verb were said to belong to a particular lexical class. This was expressed by the Arabic term *lughah* typically followed by an abstract Arabic verbal noun in genitive annexation, as is the case here (*al-rujūʿ* 'returning', *al-saby* 'capturing'), or by the Hebrew term *lashon* followed by a Hebrew, or occasionally Aramaic, abstract noun in annexation, e.g. לשון ברכה 'lexical class of blessing' (§II.L.3.2.7.), לשון דחילה 'lexical class of fearing' (§II.L.3.1.). A lexical class was a class of attested linguistic forms sharing a common kernel of meaning and common letters. Such a lexical class does not include words that are related in meaning but have no letters in common. The common letters that embrace all words belonging to a lexical class are in most cases equivalent to what we would call the root letters. The medieval Karaite grammarians of the tenth and eleventh centuries, however, did not have a fully developed concept of an abstract triliteral root as the base of derivation in their linguistic theory (Khan 2000b, 78–82; 2013a; 2013b).

The use of the term *lashon* with this sense of lexical class is found in earlier Hebrew Masoretic treatises, e.g. *Diqduqe ha-Ṭeʿamim* (ed. Dotan 1967): לשון ברכה 'lexical class of blessing' (§21), לשון אכילה 'lexical class of eating' (§22), לשון ירידה 'lexical class of descending' (§25). The grammatical use of the term *lashon* ultimately has its origin in the Rabbinic tradition, where it is used broadly in the sense of linguistic form. Such broader usage is still found in the text of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* in cases such as לשון

בתים 'the form בָּתִּים' (§II.L.1.9.2.), לשון יחיד 'singular form' (§II.L.3.2.1.).

- **II.L.0.2.**

> If one were to say 'What do you say concerning the formation of these accents?', the response would be that they originated by convention among the people of the language, by the help of which they fully expressed their purposes, as in the aforementioned examples and others. They established them by convention, just as they established the vowels by convention, as will be explained.

This reflects a rationalist and anthropocentric view of the origin of language that ʾAbū al-Faraj expresses elsewhere in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* and in his grammatical works. According to this view, language did not develop by revelation from God but rather developed among the primeval speech community of humans by convention in order to fulfil their needs of communication. The primeval speech community is referred to as 'the people of the language' (*ʾahl al-lugha*). It appears that this was intended to be the primeval community of Hebrew-speakers. Discussion of the conventional origin of language elsewhere in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* is found in sections concerning the origin of letters and vowels, e.g. §II.L.1.1.1. §II.L.1.1.2., §II.L.1.4.1., §II.L.1.8.2., §II.L.2.2.1. In §II.L.2.2.1. there is a discussion of the role of the language of God in the development of language by conventional agreement. In his grammar *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī*, ʾAbū al-Faraj describes how various aspects of grammatical structure, such as verbal inflections and

the expression of gender and number, would have arisen by convention within the primeval speech community to fulfil their needs of communication.[2]

The notion of the conventional origin of language was adopted by ʾAbū al-Faraj from the rationalist views of language that were espoused by the Muslim theological movement known as the Muʿtazila. The Muʿtazila, in turn, had received this from the Aristotelian tradition of the conventional origin of meaning of sounds in language (Allen 1948; Kretzmann 1974) through the Arabic translations of Aristotelian texts at the period. Muslim philosophers whose thought was based in the Aristotelian tradition also adopted this concept of the origin of language, e.g. al-Fārābī (d. 950), who wrote a commentary on the Arabic version of Aristotle's *De Interpretatione*, where Aristotle expressed his arguments on this question.[3]

The leading Karaite intellectuals of the period adopted many aspects of Muʿtalizite thought (Wolfson 1979; Sklare 2017). They followed in particular the so-called Bahshamiyya Muʿtazilite school of Baṣra, which was founded by students and followers of ʾAbū Hāshim al-Jubbāʾī. In the second half of the tenth century and the eleventh century, they were influenced especially by the central figures of this school such as ʾAbū ʿAlī ibn Khallād and ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī. Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ha-Kohen al-Baṣīr, a prominent scholar in the Karaite Jerusalem

[2] The various passages in *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* have been gathered together by Gallego (2003).

[3] See this commentary of al-Fārābī (ed. Beirut 1960, 27, 50–51) and Zimmermann's translation (1982, xli, 12).

school, who was a contemporary of ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn, was particularly closely engaged with the Bahshamiyya school led by ʿAbd al-Jabbār and wrote refutations of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's opponents (Sklare 2017, 159, 163).

The rationalist notion of the origin of language through conventional agreement among humans can be traced to ʾAbū Hāshim al-Jubbāʾī (d. 933) of the Baṣran Muʿtalizite school and gained ground among the Muʿtazilites through the works of ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1026) and ʾAbū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 1044) (Weiss 1974, 35). The Muʿtazalite view of the origin of language by convention was adopted by various Karaite scholars of the Jerusalem school other than ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn, such as Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (Vajda 1974, 61–62) and ʾAbū al-Faraj Furqān ibn ʾAsad (also known as Yeshuʿa ben Yehudah) (Zwiep 1997, 149–58).

The key Arabic terms that are used by the Muʿtazilites for convention are *ʾiṣṭilāḥ* and verbal forms from the root *w-ḍ-ʿ*, especially *muwāḍaʿa* and *tawāḍuʿ*. The latter was the term favoured by ʿAbd al-Jabbār in his discussions of the origin of language (Peters 1976, 304–5). ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn uses both of these terms in his references to the conventional origin of language. The terms *muwāḍaʿa* and *tawāḍuʿ* appear to be literal translations of the Greek term *συνθήκη* 'convention' in the Aristotelian corpus, all of which have the basic meaning of 'putting together'.

In the passage in §II.L.0.2. the focus is on the origin of the accents, which are said to have arisen by convention among the 'people of the language', just as they established the vowels by convention, to achieve needs such as the distinctions of meaning described in §II.L.0.1. This would relate to stress position rather

than musical cantillation and so would be a feature of natural speech. The passage then goes on to say that the arrangement (*tartīb*) of the accents may have been based on the practice of the Levites. This is most likely referring to the fixing of the sequence of different pitch accents in the musical cantillation. In a discussion of the origin of the vowels in §II.L.2.18., it is stated that 'it is possible that the people of the language formed the shapes of the vowels just has they formed the shapes of the letters. It is also possible that the people of the language used to use them in conversation without their knowing any (written) form for them.' In ʾAbū al-Faraj's discussion of the origin of the accents in §II.L.0.2., it is not clear whether he is referring to both the written accent signs and the oral reading or only to the oral reading.

The view of the origin of the accents and vowels by convention was abandoned by later Karaites, after the dispersal of the Karaite Jerusalem school consequent upon the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099. The Karaite Judah Hadassi, who was active in the middle of the twelfth century in Constantinople, for example, adopted a revelationist view of their origin, and argued that the original tablets that were given to Moses on Mount Sinai must have had the vowels and accents:

> … for without the five vowels, which are [represented by] the vowel signs, a word could not be articulated nor could it be understood without the pronunciation of the vowels and accents.[4]

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[4] *Sefer ʾEshkol ha-Kofer* (ed. Eupatoria 1836, 70a): כי בלא חמשת הקולות שהם מלכי הנקוד לא תולד המלה ולא תעמוד בפה ולא יודע מה היא כי אם בנועם נקודים וטעמים. See further Khan (1992, 173).

### ➢ II.L.0.3.

This section refers to the devastation of Jerusalem by the Romans, who are referred to figuratively as ‘wicked Edom’, i.e. Esau, the brother and enemy of Jacob. This was a trope that developed early in Rabbinic tradition (Feldman 1992, 47–48). The term here includes also the Byzantine rulers. The reference to pilgrimage to Tiberias and Gaza is evidently referring to the Byzantine period. Pilgrimage to Gaza, Tiberias and Zoar in the Byzantine period are mentioned also by other medieval Karaites.[5] One such reference is by Sahl ben Maṣliaḥ ha-Kohen in the preface to his *Book of Precepts*:

> After having left that place (i.e. Jerusalem), it remained for over five [hundred] years as rubble and dens of jackals, and the Jews could not enter. The Jews who resided in the East would come to the city of Maʿazyah (i.e. Tiberias) in order to pray, while those who lived in the West would come to the city of Gaza for that purpose. Those who dwelt in the South would go to the city of Zoar. In the days of the little horn (i.e. the Islamic empire; cf. Dan. 7.8), God opened His gates of mercy to His people, and brought them to His holy city.

Another reference to such pilgrimage in the Byzantine period is found in the commentary of Daniel al-Qūmisī (end of the ninth century) on Daniel 11.32:

> Before his arrival (i.e. of the Arabs), they (i.e. the Jews) could not enter Jerusalem and would, therefore, come

[5] For the full references see Gil (1996, 165–66).

> from the four corners of the earth to Tiberias and to Gaza in order to catch a glimpse of the Temple.

- **II.L.0.5.**

The argument here is that the opinion of the community as a whole sanctions the authority of the tradition of the accents. This is similar to the argument of the Karaite al-Qirqisānī that the agreement of the majority of the community (*ʾijmāʿ*) on the biblical reading tradition is the crucial basis of its authority (Khan 1990).

- **II.L.0.7.**

> Surely you see that Muslims, whether they be two or more, cannot read with the same degree of coordination as the Jews read, since each one has his own way (of reading). One makes long a place that another makes it short. One reads melodically a place that another reads flat.

The crucial difference between the reading of the Hebrew Bible and the reading of the Qurʾān is that in the former the contour and sequence of pitch accents are fixed by tradition whereas in the latter pitch differences are improvised by individual readers (Nelson 2001).

- **II.L.0.9.**

> הדא אלמכתצר
>
> 'this short treatise'

The reference is clearly to the long version of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* and not to the short version, in connection with which ʾAbū al-Faraj

also uses the verb *ikhtaṣara* 'to shorten' (see the introduction to the short version §II.S.0.1.). The term 'short treatise' in the introduction to the long version can be interpreted as a case of formulaic modesty.

## ➢ II.L.1.1.

The ideas presented in this section correspond closely to the Muʿtazilite views of language, especially those expressed by ʿAbd al-Jabbār in his various works. ʿAbd al-Jabbār's definitions of speech include 'the arrangement together of two or more letters' (*mā intaẓama min ḥarfayn fa-ṣāʿidan*), 'what consists of the specific arrangement of these intuitively known letters, occurring in two letters or (more) letters' (*mā ḥaṣala fīh niẓām makhṣūṣ min hādhih al-ḥurūf al-maʿqūla, ḥaṣala fī ḥarfayn ʾaw ḥurūf*) and a number of other variant formulations (Peters 1976, 293–94). Likewise ʾAbū al-Faraj states that a communicable utterance must consist of a minimum of two letters. Like ʿAbd al-Jabbār, ʾAbū al-Faraj uses forms of the verb *naẓama* to refer to the arrangement of letters (e.g. §II.L.1.1.4., §II.L.1.1.5, §II.L.1.1.7.). Similar statements are made by the anonymous Karaite grammarian in the work *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd,* viz. 'speech is constituted by articulated sounds arranged in a particular type of arrangement' (*al-kalām huwa al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa al-manẓūma ḍarb min al-niẓām*) (ed. Vidro 2013a, 33), and the works of the Karaite Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, e.g. *al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī* 'The Comprehensive Book': 'articulated sounds and arranged letters that can by convention convey meaning' (*ʾaṣwāt muqaṭṭaʿa wa-ḥurūf manẓūma yaṣiḥḥ ʾan tufīd bi-l-muwāḍaʿa*) (Vajda 1974, 61).

According to ʿAbd al-Jabbār, sounds are accidents (i.e. properties) and not substances. He uses the term *ʿaraḍ* to refer to this concept of accident (Peters 1976, 299). This corresponds to the term *khāṣṣiyya*, which is used by ʾAbū al-Faraj in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* to denote the property of a letter, i.e. its realization in sound. The term *khāṣṣiyya* is found in some *tajwīd* manuals to refer to the distinctive phonetic realization of letters or categories of letters, e.g. *k̲hāṣṣiyyat al-ḥarf al-rakhw* … *k̲hāṣṣiyyat al-ḥarf al-shadīd* 'the distinctive property of a "soft" letter … the distinctive property of a "strong" letter' in the commentary on al-Dānī's *Kitāb al-Taysīr* by al-Mālaqī (d. 705/1305), *al-Durr al-Nathīr w-al-ʿAdhb al-Namīr* 'Scattered Pearls and Pure Sweet' (ed. Beirut 2002, 183). Al-Dānī uses the corresponding term *ṣifa* 'attribute' in his works, e.g. *al-Taḥdīd fī al-ʾItqān w-al-Tajwīd* 'The Definition of Precision and Excellent Reading' (ed. Amman 2001, 105).

In *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* ʾAbū al-Faraj occasionally uses the Hebrew term טעם (literally: 'taste') in the sense of the quality of a letter. In §II.L.1.3.3. this occurs in its Arabicized form טעאם *ṭaʿām*. The terms are sometimes used together, e.g. טעם אלחרף וכאציתה 'the "taste" of the letter and its property' (§II.L.1.1.2.). The Arabic verb *dh-w-q* 'to taste' is used in connection with the pronunciation of consonants in §II.L.1.3.8.: פאדא דקת אלחרף פי מחלה אנמא דקת מנה כאציתה 'If you taste a letter (by pronouncing it) in its place of articulation, you will taste its property.' This suggests that טעם 'taste' is used by ʾAbū al-Faraj to refer to the perceived quality of the letter, whereas *khāṣṣiyya* is its intrinsic property.

It is stated in §II.L.1.1.1. and §II.L.1.1.2. that 'the conventional agreement was initially on the property of the letter', i.e.

the conventional agreement in the primeval speech community was on sounds of letters rather than the names of letters. As remarked, according to ʿAbd al-Jabbār sounds were accidental properties and so speech must be an accident too. The conventional agreement was, therefore, initially on speech.

- **II.L.1.1.2.**

> People differ with regard to the number of the letters that are added to the realization of the letter and its property.

This is referring to the variant forms of the names of the letters that were current during the time of ʾAbū al-Faraj.

- **II.L.1.1.4.**

> והם אלמלוך אלדי תסמא אנחא
>
> namely the vowels, which are called vocalization

Two terms are used for vowels. The term ‘kings’ (*mulūk*) expresses its hierarchical relationship viz-à-viz *shewa,* which is referred to as a ‘servant’ (*khādim*) in some medieval sources, e.g. the anonymous Masoretic treatise CUL T-S NS 301.84. This would be analogous to the relationship of a conjunctive accent, also referred to in the treatises as a *khādim*, with a following disjunctive accent. The Arabic term *ʾanḥāʾ* is the plural of *naḥw*, the primary meaning of which is the grammatical inflection of a word. In Arabic such inflection is expressed by case vowels and the term has been extended to all vowels.

- **II.L.1.1.7.**

> פאדן אלחרף וחדה לא יפאד מנה מעני ועלי הדא אלוגה סמא אלדקדוקיין אלחרף כאדמא
>
> Now, meaning is not expressed by a letter alone and so the Hebrew grammarians have called a 'letter particle' a 'functional particle'.

The word *ḥarf* is the normal term used for 'grammatical particle' in the standard Arabic grammatical tradition of the period. ʾAbū al-Faraj states here that the Hebrew grammarians use the term *khādim*, which literally means 'serving (particle)', or 'subordinate (particle)', to refer to such grammatical elements. This is the term he himself uses in his grammatical works, e.g. *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy 2003, §I.27.1). The designation *diqdūqiyyūn* is generally used by ʾAbū al-Faraj to refer to the Karaite grammarians of Hebrew who preceded him. They practiced a discipline that was known as *diqduq* 'attention to fine details, careful investigation (of Hebrew Scripture)'. This was associated with the Masoretic activity that produced the early Masoretic treatises. Such activity is sometimes referred to as *diqduq ha-miqra* 'careful investigation of Hebrew Scripture' in the sources, e.g. Allony (1964). Note also the anonymous Judaeo-Arabic Masoretic treatise that is preserved in the Genizah fragment CUL T-S D1.2, which states that its source is ממא בינוה אלמעלמין אלאולין אלצנאדיד פי דקדוק אלמקרא 'what was explained by the early master teachers of the careful investigation of Hebrew Scripture'.

ʾAbū al-Faraj was sometimes at pains to distinguish his own works from the discipline of *diqduq* (Khan 1997; 2000b, 1–25).

One of the reasons for this appears to be that ʾAbū al-Faraj believed that his grammatical works *al-Kitāb al-Mushtamil* and *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* had a universalist approach that dealt not only with Hebrew but with general issues realting to human language, whereas the *diqdūqiyyūn* were specifically concerned with the Hebrew language of Scripture.

After completing *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī*, ʾAbū al-Faraj wrote a work entitled *Kitāb al-Madkhal ʾilā ʿIlm al-Diqdūq fī Ṭuruq al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya* 'Book of Introduction into the Discipline of Careful Investigation of the Ways of the Hebrew Language', which he states was intended as a guidebook to the terminology of the *diqdūqiyyūn*. This work is still unpublished.[6] In the work ʾAbū al-Faraj states:

> 'Speech that is used (for communication) consists of three components: noun (*ism*), verb (*fiʿl*) and particle (*ḥarf*, literally: letter), which the people of the discipline of *diqduq* call 'serving particle' (*khādiman*).[7]

The manuscript of our passage in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* has the reading סמא אלדקדוקיין אלכאדם חרפא 'the *diqduq* scholars called a "serving particle" (*khādim*) a "letter" (*ḥarf*).' Given the statement in *Kitāb al-Madkhal* and the following context of the passage in the *Hidāya*, it is clear that this reading is a scribal error for סמא אלדקדוקיין אלחרף כאדמא.

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[6] See Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger (2003, xiii) for a list of the extant manuscripts.

[7] II Firkovitch, Evr.-Arab. I 4601, fol. 112 (an autograph of ʾAbū al-Faraj written in Arabic script): الكلام المستعمل ثلثة اقسام اسم وفعل وحرف يسميه اهل علم الدقدوق خادم.

In the published texts of the early Karaite grammarians no specific technical term is attested for ‘grammatical particle’ (Khan 2000b, 74; 2000a).

> פקד אנכתם פי כל לפט̇ה חרף אלף והו מן חרוף אללין
>
> In each of these words a letter *ʾalef* is hidden, which is one of the soft letters.

This reflects the theory that long vowels were the result of ‘soft letters’ (*ḥurūf al-līn*), i.e. vowel letters. Such a theory was borrowed from the Arabic grammatical tradition and developed more systematically by the Hebrew grammarian Ḥayyūj, who was active in Spain in the early eleventh century (Basal 2013). Unlike in Arabic, these vowel letters were sometimes elided in the orthography; cf. the discussion in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* in §II.L.1.8.

## ➢ II.L.1.2.

> וינצ̇אף אלי אלאצול כמסה חרוף והי אלתי יסמונהא פשוטות והם ד̇ס̇ן̇ף̇ץ̇
>
> To the basic letters are added five letters, which are called “straight”, namely דסןףץ.

The Hebrew term פָּשׁוּט ‘straight’ for the long final letters has its origin in Rabbinic literature; cf. Jastrow (1903, 1138).

> ינצ̇אף אלי אלאצול איצ̇א סתה חרוף והי ב̇ג̇ד̇כ̇פ̇ת̇ אלטבראניין יזידו עלי הדה אלסתה אחרף חרף ריש ויגעלונהא ב̇ג̇ד̇כ̇פ̇ר̇ת̇
>
> To the basic letters are added six letters, namely בגדכפת. The Tiberians add to these six letters the letter *resh*, making it (i.e. the group of non-basic letters) בגדכפרת.

The reference here is to the fricative variants of the בגדכפת consonants and the alveolar trill variant of the *resh* (vol. 1, §I.1.20),

all of which were regarded by ʾAbū al-Faraj as secondary variants of the consonants in question. *Sefer Yeṣira* refers to שבע כפולות בגדכפרת 'the seven double letters בגדכפרת' (Hayman 2004, 24). According to Morag (1960), this is referring to the Babylonian pronunciation tradition, in which there was a variation in the realization of *resh* that was different in nature from that of the Tiberian tradition. The fricative variants of the בגדכפת consonants were regarded as secondary also in a Masoretic treatise published by Allony and Yeivin (1985, 97).

זאי מכרוך

For the *zāy makrūkh* see vol. 1, §I.1.7.

### ➢ II.L.1.3.2.

The Hebrew term בית הבליעה 'place of swallowing' is found in Hebrew Masoretic treatises, e.g. §5 and §6 in Baer and Strack's (1879) corpus. It is attested already in Rabbinic literature (Jastrow 1903, 173).

For the four cases of *dagesh* in *ʾalef* in the standard Tiberian tradition see vol. 1, §I.1.1.

### ➢ II.L.1.3.3.

For the meanings of the terms טעם and *khāṣṣiyya* see the comments to §II.L.1.1. above.

## ➢ II.L.1.3.4.

ט֗הור

appearance

Cf. the use of the Arabic term *ẓāhir* ‘appearing’ to designate *he* with *mappiq* in the Masoretic treatise published by Allony and Yeivin (1985, 97).

## ➢ II.L.1.4.1.

הי עבאראת תואצ̇ע עליהא ארבאבהא ליפהמו אגראצ̇הם לבעצ̇הם בעץ̇ ויחתאג אן יעלם קבל הדא אנהם תואצ̇עו עלי חרוף מכצוצה פי מחאל מכתלפה

It [i.e. language] consists of expressions that its original speakers established by convention among themselves to make their intentions understood to one another. It needs to be known that before this they established by convention specific letters in various places of articulation.

The expression *ʾarbābuhā* ‘its [i.e. language’s] masters’ is synonymous with *ʾahl al-lugha* ‘the people of the language’.

The establishment by convention of specific letters (*ḥurūf*) is referring to the phonetic realization of the letters in the form of the production of sound, as was discussed in §II.L.1.1.

## ➢ II.L.1.4.2.

פעל פי אלנפס

intransitive verb

This term, which literally means, ‘action on oneself’, is taken from the early Karaite grammatical tradition; cf. the *Diqduq* of Ibn Nūḥ (Khan 2000b, 108–11). In the standard Baṣran Arabic

grammatical tradition an intransitive verb was called *fiʿl ghayr mutaʿaddin*, which was the term used by ʾAbū al-Faraj in his grammar books (Khan, Gallego, and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, xliii).

- **II.L.1.4.5.**

> ואלקסם אלראבע מא ינבדל מן מחאל מתגאירה והו יעם אלתצחיף ואלגמטריא לאן אלדאל ואלריש מן מחלין גירין ואלגמטריא אלבא ואלשין מן מחלין מתגאורין
>
> The fourth category is what interchanges from different places of articulation, which includes scribal error and ciphers, for *dalet* and *resh* (which are sometimes confused by scribal error) are from two different places of articulation and the cipher of letters (consisting of the interchange of) *bet* and *shin* is from two different places of articulation.

Examples of scribal errors resulting in the interchange of *dalet* and *resh* are given in §II.L.1.5.4. They are discussed by ʾAbū al-Faraj in *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī*, in which he states ‘It is a type of letter interchange arising from a mistake in writing on account of the similarity of two letters’ (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, §I.28.3.).

The ciphers referred to are in the encryption code known as א״ת ב״ש, whereby a letter is exchanged for its counterpart in the opposite place in the alphabet, e.g. *ʾalef*, the first letter in the alphabet, for *tav*, the last letter, *bet*, the second letter, for *shin*, the penultimate, and so forth (Campanini 2013, 638).

### ➢ II.L.1.4.7.

הַשְּׁלִשִׁ֖י לְאַבְשָׁל֣וֹם

'the third is Absalom' (1 Chron. 3.2).

This is cited by ʾAbū al-Faraj as an example of a *lamed* without meaning also in *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, §I.25.45.).

### ➢ II.L.1.4.8.

יקאל אנה מכתצר יוד פי יד ותקדירה בידי

It is said that a *yod* has been contracted in יָד, and its virtual form is בְּיָדִי.

ʾAbū al-Faraj uses here the notion of *taqdīr* ('virtual form', 'imagined form'), which he adopted from contemporary Arabic grammatical thought (Levin 1997). This concept is used to explain the existence of various irregularities in grammatical structure. Underlying the actually attested structure of the biblical text, there was a virtual or imagined *(muqaddar)* structure, which existed in the mind of the author. This imagined structure always conformed to grammatical rules and principles. When the imagined structure deviated from the actually attested structure, it was the imagined structure that constituted the basis of interpretation and translation (Khan 2001, 142–44).

### ➢ II.L.1.5.

Some cases of letter interchange that are presented in this section are mentioned by ʾAbū al-Faraj in *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī*, e.g. ed. Khan,

Gallego and Olszowy Schlanger (2013, §I.26.28, §I.27.34, §I.28.3).

➢ **II.L.1.5.18.**

The intention is that חֲמֻוּץ would be in place of חֲמוּס 'treated violently (and therefore bloody)'.

➢ **II.L.1.5.21.**

ואלמכרת יכון שָׁתוּם

The disjoined form would be שָׁתֻם.

ʾAbū al-Faraj uses the Hebrew terms מֻכְרֶת 'disjoined' and סָמוּךְ 'conjoined' alongside the corresponding Arabic terms *qaṭʿ* 'disjoined state' (§II.L.1.4.8.) and *muḍāf* 'conjoined'. For סָמוּךְ see §II.L.2.17. These terms are found in Masoretic treatises, e.g. §37 in the corpus of Baer and Strack (1879). In *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* the terms are generally used in the sense of 'absolute' and 'construct' forms of a noun respectively. In Karaite grammatical literature the terms are used also to denote pausal and context forms (Khan 2007). The term *qaṭʿ* is used in the sense of pause in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* in §II.L.2.12.14.

ויגב אן יכון אמרה שְׁתוֹם או שְׁתַם

Its imperative would have to be שְׁתוֹם or שְׁתַם.

For the notion of the imperative as the base of morphological derivation see the comments on §II.L.1.10. below.

## ➢ II.L.1.6.

The letters אויה are intended here to represent long vowels. This reflects the theory that long vowels were the result of ‘soft letters’ (*ḥurūf al-līn*), i.e. vowel letters; cf. the comments on §II.L.1.1.7. above and the discussion in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* in §II.L.1.8.

Some of the material in this section can be found in other Masoretic treatises, such as §29 in the corpus of Baer and Strack (1879), two of the Judaeo-Arabic treatises published by Allony and Yeivin (1985, 99–101, 112), and various fragments of unpublished texts, e.g. CUL T-S D1.2, Mosseri I, 71.1; Oxford Bod. Heb. d 33, fol. 16.

## ➢ II.L.1.7.5.

פהו בתקדיר לחן קבלה ליגרי מגרי הֻ֫וא יבנה־בַּ֫יִת

> so (such cases must be considered) to have a virtual (conjunctive) accent before them in order to conform to (cases such as) הֻ֫וא יִבְנֶה־בַּ֫יִת לִשְׁמִ֑י.

Here ʾAbū al-Faraj uses the notion of *taqdīr* ‘virtual form’, ‘imagined form’ (see the comment on §II.L.1.4.8. above) to explain an apparent irregularity. The idea is that the conjunctive accent existed in the virtual underlying structure, and so this explained the operation of the *ʾathe me-raḥiq*.

## ➢ II.L.1.7.7.

כל ואו פי אכר כלמה יכרג עלי ראי אלשאמיין בבא מרפי

> Every *vav* at the end of a word is pronounced according to the Palestinians as a *bet rafe*.

See vol. 1, §I.1.6. for the pronunciation of the Tiberian *vav*.

### ➢ II.L.1.7.9.

For a possible explanation of the phenomenon described in this section, see vol. 1, §I.3.1.10.

### ➢ II.L.1.7.11.

For this feature of the reading of Ben Naftali see *Kitāb al-Khilaf* (ed. Lipschütz, 1965, 19).

### ➢ II.L.1.8.2.

> Yaḥyā ibn Dāʾūd the Maghribī

This is a reference to the Spanish grammarian Yaḥyā ibn Dāʾūd Ḥayyūj (d. c. 1000).

> ולא נכליה אלי אן יגו אהל אללגה פנעלם פאידה מא אצטלחו עליה
>
> and we should not abandon it until the people of the language come and we know the function of what they adopted as their convention.

Since the ‘people of the language’ are the primeval speech community, this would seem to be tantamount to saying that we should never deviate from the customary reading.

### ➢ II.L.1.9.2.

For the various degrees of ‘heaviness’ of *tav* see vol. 1, §I.3.1.11.3.

### ➢ II.L.1.9.3.

For the different realizations of *resh*, see vol. 1, §I.1.20.

- **II.L.1.10.**

> ואעלם אן אהל אללגה געלו תצאריף אללגה עלי ארבעה אקסאם מן חרף ואחד אצלי מתל הַכֵּה ונחוה ומן חרפין מתל בְּנֵה ונחוה ומן ג̇ מתל שְׁמֹר ונחוה ומן ד̇ מתל כרבל ונחוה
>
> Take note that the people of the language made the conjugations of the language in four categories: from one root letter, such as הַכֵּה ‘hit’ and the like, from two letters, such as בְּנֵה ‘build’ and the like, from three letters, such as שְׁמֹר and the like and from four letters, such as כַּרְבֵּל ‘wrap’, and the like.

According to the medieval Karaite grammarians, the base of the process of the derivation of a word was not an abstract root but rather a concrete structural form consisting of both consonants and vowels. Such a theory of derivational morphology was developed in the early Karaite tradition of grammatical thought in the tenth century, the main extant source for which is the *Diqduq* of Ibn Nūḥ. According to Ibn Nūḥ the imperative form is the derivational base of most verbal forms. The imperative, therefore, was used as the citation form of verbs. This practice of imperative citation forms was continued by ʾAbū al-Faraj in his grammatical works and *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*, in which he uses them as lemmata to identify and classify verbal conjugations. This was despite the fact that according to his theory of grammar, adopted from the mainstream Baṣran school of Arabic grammar, the infinitive was the base of morphological derivation of verbs; cf. *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Khan, Gallego, and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, §II.16.12-15) and Khan (1997).

Although the Karaite grammarians did not work with a notion of an abstract root that functioned as the source of derivation, they did have a concept of an abstract underlying morphological level, which they referred to as the 'substance' (Arabic *jawhar*) of a word (Khan 2000b, 74–78). Unlike the morphological base, the substance is not an actual linguistic form that can be pronounced. It consists of a series of letters that are regarded as the core of the word. This is what is referred to in this passage in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* as 'root letter' (*ḥarf ʾaṣlī*). Various letters that are present in the morphological base of a word do not belong to the substance and so are not root letters. A final *he* in a verb is not considered to belong to the substance. The substance of imperative bases such as בְּנֵה, therefore, are said to consist of two root letters. A prefix such as the *he* prefix of the *hifʿil* that does not occur in all inflected forms is not considered to be a root letter. The substance of the verb הַכֵּה 'hit' was considered to consist of only one root letter. For further details see Khan (2013a; 2013b).

ואלחרף איצֹא קד תתקלב פי אללפטֹה ותתגאיר מעאניהא

A letter may also change position in a word with the result that its meaning changes.

ʾAbū al-Faraj offers here only one set of examples of such changes of position. In his grammar book *al-Kitāb al-Mushtamil* (see vol. 1, §I.0.13.4), however, he devotes a long section to this question and presents an inventory of sets of lexical forms that share letters in different sequences (Bacher 1895, 247–49). This is known as an anagrammatical lexical arrangement and is attested in other medieval Jewish sources, in particular *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī* 'The

Book of Collection' of Hai Gaon, which is a complete anagrammatical dictionary of Hebrew (Allony 1969b, 1972).

### ➢ II.L.1.11.

The term 'enhancement' (*tafkhīm*) is used by ʾAbū al-Faraj to refer to the extension of the basic form of a word or affix by the addition of letters without, in principle, bringing about a change in meaning. The list of examples of added letters includes some additions that we would normally interpret as functional affixes, such as directive *he*, e.g. בָּבֶל 'Babylon'—בָּבֶ֫לָה 'to Babylon' (2 Kings 20.17, etc.), or cohortative *he*, e.g. שׁוּב 'return'—שׁוּבָ֫ה 're-turn' (Num. 10.36, etc.). ʾAbū al-Faraj uses the term הא אלתפכים '*he* of enhancement' to refer to cohortative *he* in his grammar book *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, §I.27.126), but does not examine there the phenomenon of enhancement systematically. Saadya Gaon, on the other hand, treats the subject extensively in his grammar *Kitāb Faṣīḥ Lughat al-ʿIbrāniyyīn* 'The Book of the Eloquence of the Language of the Hebrews' (Dotan 1997, 142–45). When, however, ʾAbū al-Faraj mentions in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* 'somebody who has discussed enhancement' (§II.L.1.11.5., §II.L.1.12.1.), he does not seem to be referring to Saadya, since the cited examples do not correspond to what is extant in Saadya's work.

### ➢ II.L.1.11.5.

אלאמר הוֹדֵה הוֹשֵׁע

the imperative forms are הוֹדֵה and הוֹשֵׁעַ

The imperative form was regarded by the early Karaite grammarians as the morphological stem on the basis of which verbal inflections were formed. In his grammar *al-Kitāb al-Kāfi*, ʾAbū al-Faraj adopts from the mainstream Baṣran tradition of Arabic grammatical thought the notion that the infinitive was the base of derivation (Khan 1997). This Baṣran Arabic tradition was merged with the early Karaite tradition in the grammatical works of ʾAbū al-Faraj, which sometimes results in apparent inconsistency. He, for example, continued to use the imperative as the citation form of verbs (Khan 2013a). In this passage of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* he appears to be working with the early Karaite notion that the imperative was indeed the stem of derivation.

➢ **II.L.1.12.3.**

For the term *diqdūqiyyūn* ‘*diqduq* scholars’ see the comments above on §II.L.1.1.7.

The notion of ‘auxiliary letter’ (*ḥarf mustaʿmal*) is explained by the anonymous Karaite author of *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* (ed. Vidro 2013a, 51):

> An auxiliary letter is established in the entire conjugation. If it is removed, what remains are the letters of the lexical class standing without a clear meaning Examples are the *lamed* in the lexical class of ‘taking’, or the *nun* in the lexical class of ‘going away’ and in the lexical class of ‘approaching’, as in לֹוקְחִים, נוֹסְעִים, נוֹגְעִים etc. Here there is a clear difference between the removal of the auxiliary *lamed* and that of *ḥet* or *qof*. This holds for each auxiliary

> letter. The difference between its removal and the removal of a root letter is obvious and evident.[8]

I.e. the auxiliary letter is an integral component of the conjugation but elided in some inflections, as is the case with *nun* and *lamed* in the cited verbs. This would differ from letters of enhancement, which are added to the basic letters of a conjugation, and so are not integral to it.

### ➢ II.L.1.13.

The ‘contraction’ (*ʾikhtiṣār*) is the converse of ‘expansion’, in that it involves the elision of a letter from the basic form of a word or affix without changing meaning. The basic form is often referred to in this section as the ‘virtual form’ (*taqdīr*), i.e. the expected regular form (see the comments on §II.L.1.4.8. above). ʾAbū al-Faraj uses the concept of contraction of letters in *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* and, likewise, refers to the uncontracted form as the *taqdīr* of the word, e.g. ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger (2003, §I.23.7.). This subject is treated systematically by Saadya in his grammar *Kitāb Faṣīḥ Lughat al-ʿIbrāniyyīn* (Dotan 1997, 140–42).

### ➢ II.L.2.2.1.

In this passage relating to the origin of vowels, ʾAbū al-Faraj offers a view of the origin of language that differs from the view

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[8] ואלמסתעמל הו אלד̇י ית̇בת פי אלתצריף כלה ואא זאל בקית חרוף אללגה ת̇אבתה מן גיר מעני מסתקר פיהא מת̇ל אללמאד אלד̇י פי לגה אלאכ̇ד ואל[נ]ון פי לגה אלרחיל ולגה אלדנו כק̇ לוקחים נוסעים נוגעים ואמת̇אל ד̇לך ממא אלפרק בין זואל אללמאד אלמסתעמל ובין זואל אלקוף או אלחית פרקא ואצ̇חא וכד̇לך כל חרף מסתעמל אד̇א אזיל ואזיל אלחרף אלאצלי כאן אלפרק בינהמא ביינא ג̇ליא.

that it has a purely human origin through convention among the primeval speech community known as ‘the people of the language’ (*ʾahl al-lugha*), which he presents elsewhere in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* and his grammatical works. In the passage he acknowledges that vowels were an integral part of the original conventional establishment of language (‘in the original establishment [of language] by convention they [i.e. the vowels] were indispensable’). He then, however, goes on to associate the origin of language with Adam, according to the biblical account of the origin of language:

> וַיָּבֵא֙ אֶל־הָֽאָדָ֔ם לִרְא֖וֹת מַה־יִּקְרָא־ל֑וֹ וְכֹל֩ אֲשֶׁ֨ר יִקְרָא־ל֧וֹ הָֽאָדָ֛ם נֶ֥פֶשׁ חַיָּ֖ה ה֥וּא שְׁמֽוֹ׃ וַיִּקְרָ֨א הָֽאָדָ֜ם שֵׁמ֗וֹת לְכָל־הַבְּהֵמָה֙ וּלְע֣וֹף הַשָּׁמַ֔יִם וּלְכֹ֖ל חַיַּ֣ת הַשָּׂדֶ֑ה
>
> ‘and He (the Lord) brought them (the animals and birds) to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called every living creature, that was its name. The man gave names to all cattle, and to the birds of the air, and to every beast of the field’ (Gen. 2.19-20)

ʾAbū al-Faraj suggests various ways of interpreting Adam’s activity. He and the angels may have established language by convention. This would, in effect, be extending the notion of the primeval speech community (*ʾahl al-lugha*) to a community of Adam and the angels rather than original human speakers alone. Another possibility, says ʾAbū al-Faraj, is that the angels taught Adam language. The angels, moreover, would have been taught language by God. The development of language by convention between God and the angels was not possible since such a process requires limbs with which to point to objects and ʾAbū al-Faraj,

like his Muʿtazilite contemporaries, rejects anthropomorphisms attributed to God such as human-like limbs.

The teaching of language to Adam by angels, who in turn learnt it from God, is a revelationist view of the origin of language. This was adopted by some Muslim theologians and grammarians of the period (Weiss 1974; Loucel 1963). The process of revelatory teaching of language was known in the Islamic tradition as *tawqīf* ‘making known’ or *waḥy* ‘inspiring’ and was based on the Qurʾanic verse: وَعَلَّمَ اٰدَمَ الْاَسْمَآءَ كُلَّهَا ‘and He (God) taught Adam all the names (of things)’ (2.31).

The fact that ʾAbū al-Faraj presents different versions of the origin of language, conventionalist and revelationist, may have arisen as an attempt to find a synthesis between rationalist Muʿtazilite thought and Jewish biblical tradition.[9] Saadya Gaon, likewise, strove to achieve such a synthesis. Unlike ʾAbū al-Faraj, however, Saadya did not attempt this by offering alternative views, but rather presented a hybrid view. According to Saadya a single primeval human, referred to as ‘the establisher of the language’ (*wāḍiʿ al-lugha*), fixed arbitrary names for entities and this fixing was subsequently accepted by consensus (*ʾiṣṭilāḥ*)

[9] Maimonides followed an Aristotelian view and regarded Adam’s act of naming as indicating by itself that languages are conventional, see *Guide of the Perplexed* (transl. Pines 1969, 357). By contrast, Jewish exegetes in medieval Europe adopted a revelationist interpretation. Naḥmanides, at the height of the ‘Maimonidean controversy’, explicitly rejected Maimonides’ notion of convention; cf. Saenz-Badillos (2004, 297).

among people and transmitted to later generations. The 'establisher of the language' that Saadya had in mind was presumably Adam, but he left the name unspecified, possibly to make his theory more universalist and applicable to all human language. According to Saadya, God did not create language but gave Adam the faculty of language (Dotan 1995; 1997, 96–104).

It is also possible that ʾAbū al-Faraj was influenced by some streams of Muslim thought in the eleventh century that attempted a synthesis of the revelationist and conventionalist views (associated with the scholar ʾAbū ʾIsḥāq al-ʾAsfarāʾīnī, d. 1027) or were non-committal and held that neither view could be argued conclusively (associated with the scholar ʾAbū al-Bakr al-Bāqillānī, d. 1013) (Weiss 1974).

- **II.L.2.3.2.**

ללערב פי לגתהם מן אלאעראב תלתה והי אלרפע והו אלצׄמה מן פוק ואלנצב והו אלפתחה מן פוק ואלכפץׄ והי אלכסרה מן אספל

The Arabs have three inflectional vowels in their language. These are 'raising' (*rafʿ*), i.e. the vowel *ḍamma*, which is written above; 'holding level' (*naṣb*), i.e. the *fatḥa* vowel, which is written above; and 'lowering' (*khafḍ*), i.e. the vowel *kasra*, which is written below.

The terms *rafʿ* 'raising', *naṣb* 'holding level' and *khafḍ* 'lowering' derive from a theory of the production of vowels originating in Arabic grammatical thought that involves both the position of buccal organs and the direction of the dynamic flow of air. It was adopted also by Saadya (Dotan 1997, 113–26) and is found in a Hebrew Masoretic treatise published by Baer and Strack (1879, §36), see Eldar (1983) and Posegay (2020). In this section of

*Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* ʾAbū al-Faraj is referring to the vowels of Arabic case inflections, which mark syntactic relations. In §II.L.2.4.–§II.L.2.8. he transfers this terminology to categorize Hebrew vowels in morphological patterns. The seven Hebrew vowels are assigned to the three Arabic categories as follows: *rafʿ* (*ḥolem, shureq*), *naṣb* (*pataḥ, segol, qameṣ*), *khafḍ* (*ṣere, ḥireq*). A similar practice of applying this three-way classification of vowels to Hebrew morphology is found in the Masoretic treatise §36 of the corpus of Baer and Strack (1879).

### ➢ II.L.2.4.

> ואלנצב ידכל תחתה ג̇ נגמאת אלפתחה אלכברי והי אַ ואלפתחה אלוסטי והי אֶ ואלפתחה אלצגרי והי אָ
>
> Three vowels correspond to (the Arabic inflectional vowel) ‘holding level’ (*naṣb*), namely ‘big *fatḥa*’, i.e. אַ, ‘medium *fatḥa*’, i.e. אֶ, and ‘small *fatḥa*’, i.e. אָ.

In early Masoretic terminology a basic distinction was made between *pataḥ* (open vowel) and *qameṣ* (vowel with lip-tightening). The vowel *segol* was associated with *pataḥ* and referred to as *pataḥ qaṭan* ‘small *pataḥ*’. The vowel *ṣere* was associated with *qameṣ* and referred to as *qameṣ qaṭan* ‘small *qameṣ*’, see vol. 1, §I.2.1.5. Here in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* a different grouping of the vowels is made based on the perceived proximity of the Hebrew vowels to each of the three Arabic vowels. In the early Masoretic terms *pataḥ qaṭan* and *qameṣ qaṭan*, the attribute ‘small’ relates to the notion that these vowels were in some way more attenuated and less open than prototypical *pataḥ* and *qameṣ*. This notion can be traced back to Syriac grammatical sources where the Syriac

term *qaṭṭīn* ‘narrow’ is used to describe the higher front vowels (Posegay 2020). The terms ‘big *fatḥa*’, ‘medium *fatḥa*’ and ‘small *fatḥa*’ seem to relate to varying degrees of lip-spreading. The vowel *pataḥ* was pronounced with the maximal degree of lip-spreading and *qameṣ* with the lowest degree, with *segol* exhibiting an intermediate lip position. The same attributes are used in §II.L.2.7. and applied to the term *naṣb*, viz. ‘big *naṣb*’ for *pataḥ* and ‘small *naṣb*’ for *qameṣ*.

## ➢ II.L.2.5.

אלי גיר דלך ממא קד אסתעמל פי אלאמר ואלעבר מתל שׂוֹרֵף שׂוֹרַף ווזנהמא ואסתעמל פי אלאמר מן תצריף כּוֹנֵן נחו סֹב חֹן ואסתעמל פי אלעבר מן תצריף שירו נחו נוֹדַע נוֹשַׁע

To these should be added forms that are used for the imperative and the past such as שׂוֹרֵף ‘be burnt’, שׂוֹרַף ‘was burnt’, and other examples of this pattern; those that are used for the imperative in the conjugaton כּוֹנֵן such as סֹב ‘turn’, חֹן ‘be gracious’; those that are used for the past in the conjugation שִׁירוֹ, such as נוֹדַע ‘be known’, נוֹשַׁע ‘be saved’.

The Karaite grammarians regarded the imperative form to be the morphological base of most verbal forms (see comments on §II.L.1.10. above). This morphological base enshrined the core structural features of the inflected forms derived from it. Although the imperative base is a concrete linguistic form, it is not necessarily a form that is attested in the corpus of Biblical Hebrew. The Karaite grammarians held that it is crucial that there is a close structural relationship between the base and the inflected form. If there is no attested imperative that is deemed

sufficiently close in structure to the inflected form, a common way of resolving this problem is to propose a hypothetical imperative base.

The imperative base always belongs to the same pattern (*binyan*) as the verbal form derived from it. The notion of pattern (*binyan*) as a unitary abstract category, however, is not found in the morphological theory of the Karaite grammarians. Imperative bases were classified together in groups not on account of sharing of abstract stems but on account of their sharing of actual structural patterns. The imperative form כְּתֹב 'write', for instance, was said to have the same pattern as imperatives such as שְׁמֹר 'guard' and קְצֹר 'harvest'. The imperative שׁוּב 'return' was said to have the same pattern as קוּם 'arise'. The forms כְּתֹב and שׁוּב, however, were not classified together on a more abstract structural level, as became the custom in Hebrew grammar following the teachings of Ḥayyūj.

As remarked, the imperative base had to have a maximally close structural resemblance to the form derived from it. In order to achieve this in some cases the imperative form that is posited as the base of an inflected verb does not actually occur in the language, e.g. נְתֹן for נָתַ֫נּוּ 'we have given' (1 Chron. 29.14), הֲלֹךְ for תִּהֲלַךְ 'it walks' (Psa. 73.9) and בַּקְשֵׁה for בִּקְשָׁה 'it has sought' (Ecc. 7.28). The motivation for positing an imperative base such as בַּקְשֵׁה is to construe the derivation of the form בִּקְשָׁה, without the *dagesh* in the *qof*, as fully regular and not an anomalous inflection of the imperative base בַּקֵּשׁ, which contains *dagesh*. Such hypothetical imperatives were not used for the writing of creative literature. Indeed, no Karaite author has been found who

used these postulated forms in a creative Hebrew text. This reflects the fact that the proposed imperative base of a verb was intended as a purely structural source of derivation. Further evidence for this is that even passive forms expressed by morphological patterns that we now call the *puʿal* and *hufʿal/hofʿal* are regarded by the Karaite grammarians as derived from imperative bases, which cannot be naturally functional in the language, e.g. the past form עֻשֵּׂ֫יתִי 'I was made' (Psa. 139.15) is said to be derived from the imperative form עֻשֵּׂה. Here in §II.L.2.5. of *Hidayat al-Qāriʾ* the past form שׂוֹרַף 'was burnt' (inferred from וְהִנֵּ֣ה שֹׂרָ֑ף 'and behond it was burnt' Lev. 10.16) is cited alongside the imperative שׂוֹרֵף 'be burnt', which would have been considered to exist hypothetically as its morphological base. Passive imperative bases of *puʿal* and *hufʿal/hofʿal* patterns have *ṣere* in their second syllable by analogy with active *piʿel* and *hifʿil* imperatives. For more details see Khan (2000b, 41–45; 2013a; 2013b).

ʾAbū al-Faraj uses mnemonic symbols to arrange the imperative bases of verbal conjugations into classes. Such a classification is presented systematically in §I.22 of *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003). These symbols, known in Arabic as *ʿalāma* or *ribāṭ* and in Hebrew as סימן, consisted of bisyllabic Hebrew words in which the first vowel corresponds to the vowel common to all imperatives and the last vowel to the vowel common to all past forms in the class. The vowels in question may be those of the first syllable of the imperative and past forms or those of the last syllable of these forms (Vidro 2013b, 652). The conjugations of the imperatives

הַכֵּה and דַּבֵּר, for example, were assigned to a class designated by the mnemonic symbol גַּנִּי, which was based on the first vowel of the imperatives (הַכֵּה, דַּבֵּר) and the past forms (הִכָּה, דִּבֶּר). In a similar way the symbol שִׁירָה included conjugations with imperative bases with the patterns שִׂים and הִכּוֹן, with *ḥireq* in their initial syllable and *qameṣ* in the initial syllable of their past forms, viz. שָׂם and נָכוֹן. The symbol מֵסַב included conjugations in which the imperative had a *ṣere* in the final syllable and the past had a *pataḥ* in the final syllable, e.g. הִמָּלֵט (imperative)—נִמְלַט (past).

This system of classification originated in the early Karaite tradition and was developed by ʾAbū al-Faraj. It was subsequently elaborated still further in some other Karaite works, such as the anonymous treatises *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* (Vidro 2011; 2013a) and *Meʾor ʿAyin* (Zislin 1990). The classification of verbal conjugations and the systematization of rules for their derivation that are found in these works are likely to have had a pedagogical motivation (Vidro 2011, 165–79).

Just as hypothetical imperative bases were posited for certain past forms, e.g. נְתֹן for נָתַנּוּ 'we have given', so hypothetical past forms were in some cases posited for attested imperative forms. This applies, for example, to the first in the class of conjugations represented by the symbol כּוֹנַן, which is mentioned in §II.L.2.5. of *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*—in the manuscript used in the edition for this passage the original *pataḥ* has been replaced by *segol* due to interference from Arabic phonology on the scribe, viz. כּוֹנֶן (cf. vol. 1, §I.4.3.3.). In conjugations represented by the symbol כּוֹנַן the first vowel of the imperative is *ḥolem* and the first vowel of the past form is *pataḥ*. The imperatives of the class כּוֹנַן that are

given in §II.L.2.5. are סֹב ‘turn’ and חֹן ‘be gracious’. The attested 3ms past forms of סֹב and חֹן are סָבַב and חָנַן. It is assumed, however, that these imperatives have hypothetical 3ms past forms סַב and חַן, in which the first vowel is *pataḥ*, in conformity with the symbol כּוֹנַן. This is explicitly stated in *al-Kitāb al-Kafi* (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, §I.22.19) and *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* (ed. Vidro 2013a, 167). The forms סַב and חַן were inferred from attested inflected forms such as סַבֹּתִי ‘I have turned’ (1 Sam. 22.22), חַנַּנִי ‘he has treated me graciously’ (Gen. 33.11) and וְחַנֹּתִי ‘and I shall be gracious’ (Exod. 22.19).

The other symbol mentioned in §II.L.2.5. is שִׁירוֹ, which is exemplified by the past forms נוֹדַע and נוֹשַׁע, with *ḥolem* in their first syllable. The imperative forms of these are הִוָּדַע and הִוָּשַׁע, with *ḥireq* in their first syllable. Full details and vocalization are given in *al-Kitāb al-Kafi* (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, §I.22.25) and *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* (ed. Vidro 2013a, 193).

> פקד צאר הדא אלקסם אלואחד יסתעמל פי אלפאעלין כמא אסתעמלו
> אלערב רפע [הם פ]י אלפאעלין ואסתעמלו אלעבראניין פי גיר אלפאעלין
> תוסעא כמא אסתעמלו אלערב רפעהם פי ג[יר] אלפאעלין תוסעא מן נחו
> אלאבתדא ואלאסתפהאם וגיר דלך
>
> This category (of *rafʿ*) is used for agents, just as the Arabs use *rafʿ* for agents. The Hebrews use it for forms other than those designating agents by extension, just as the Arabs use their *rafʿ* for forms other than those designating agents by extension, such as initial positioning (of nominal subjects), interrogative constructions, and so forth.

In this passage ʾAbū al-Faraj identifies a correspondence between the use of the Arabic and Hebrew *rafʿ* in their marking of agents. In the case of Arabic, the *rafʿ* vowel *-u* is a case-vowel marking the agent of the clause and so plays a syntactic role. In Hebrew, by contrast, the use of the *rafʿ* vowel *ḥolem* plays a morphological role as an element in the morphological pattern of Hebrew agents, e.g. הֹרֵג 'slayer'. According to ʾAbū al-Faraj the use of *ḥolem* in Hebrew in other morphological patterns is by a process of extension that is analogous to the extension of the *rafʿ* case-vowel *-u* in Arabic to items that are not agents, including the subject of nominal (i.e. verbless) clauses and interrogative constructions. The latter is most likely referring to nominal clauses with initial interrogative particles such as *hal al-ʾamīru fī al-bayti?* 'Is the commander in the house?', in which the item with the *-u* case vowel is not the initial item (*mubtadaʾ*).

### ➢ II.L.2.6.

The symbol שׁוּעָל includes conjugations in which the first vowel of the imperative is *shureq* and the first vowel of the past form is *qameṣ*, e.g. שׁוּב—שָׁב, קוּם—קָם; cf. *al-Kitāb al-Kafī* (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, §I.22.18) and *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* (ed. Vidro 2013a, 161–65).

### ➢ II.L.2.7.1.

אלמפעול אלמטלק והו אלמצדר נחו שָׁמֹר זָכֹר בָּנֹה עָשֹׂה ואמתאל דלך

It is used in the 'absolute patient', i.e the infinitive, as in שָׁמוֹר 'guarding', זָכוֹר 'remembering', בָּנֹה 'building', עָשֹׂה 'doing', and the like.

The Arabic ‘absolute patient’ (*mafʿūl muṭlaq*) is a verbal noun in the accusative case in constructions such as *ḍaraba ḍarban* ‘he struck a striking’, *sāra sayran* ‘he journeyed a journey’. This has the role of an ‘inner object’, i.e. a syntactic object that does not express the role of the undergoer of the action expressed by the verb but rather the action itself. In *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Khan, Gallego, and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, §I.21.2.) the Arabic *mafʿūl muṭlaq* is equated by ʾAbū al-Faraj with the Hebrew infinitive. He cites examples there of both the infinitive absolute and also the infinitive construct, which he did not distinguish as separate forms as we do today. In this passage in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* the Hebrew examples are infinitive absolutes.

➢ **II.L.2.7.2.**

The symbol גַּנִּי represents conjugations that have imperatives with *pataḥ* in their first syllable and past forms with *ḥireq* in their first syllable. This clearly applies to the first two examples cited, viz. הַכֵּה—הִכָּה, הַטֵּה—הִטָּה. It does not apply, however, to the other two imperatives that are cited, viz. הַאֲכֵל and הַעֲמֵד, which have *segol* in the first syllable of their past forms, viz. הֶאֱכִיל and הֶעֱמִיד. For this reason the author of *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* classified the last two verbal conjugations under the symbol מַכֶּה (ed. Vidro 2013a, 199). In *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* ʾAbū al-Faraj does not have מַכֶּה in his inventory of symbols. In §I.22.10. of *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* he includes הַרְאֵה (imperative)—הֶרְאָה (past) in the symbol גַּנִּי, but states that the past form ‘does not have a *ḥireq* on account of the *resh*.’ He does not mention the imperatives הַאֲכֵל and הַעֲמֵד, but presumably he would have included them in גַּנִּי, as here in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*,

in the same way as הַרְאֵה and explain the *segol* as a change conditioned by the initial guttural.

אלמצאדר אלמסתעארה נחו דבֵר קוֵּה לשלום

> ‘transposed infinitives’, such as דַּבֵּר ‘speak’, קַוֵּה לְשָׁל֫וֹם ‘(we) look for peace’ (Jer. 8.15, etc.)

‘Transposed infinitives’ (*maṣādir mustaʿāra*) are infinitives whose form originally belongs to a different category, in this case that of an imperative, but has been extended to the function of an infinitive. This type of infinitive is discussed in *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* (ed. Vidro 2011, 303).

## ➢ II.L.2.8.2.

The inventory that is given here of past forms in the class of conjugations represented by the symbol גַּנִּי (i.e. conjugations with imperatives with *pataḥ* in their first syllable and with past forms with *ḥireq* in their first syllable; cf. the comments on §II.L.2.7.2., §II.L.2.5. above) is longer than the one given by ʾAbū al-Faraj in the section on גַּנִּי in *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, §I.22.6.–§I.22.13.). It does, however, correspond closely to the fuller inventory of conjugations of גַּנִּי that is found in *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* (ed. Vidro 2103, 96-151). Some of these are hypothetical past forms that require comment.

The list here in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* includes the two forms הִשְׁלִיךְ ‘he threw’ and הִשְׁלֵיךְ ‘he threw’. *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* (ed. Vidro 2013a, 128-130) distinguishes between the two conjugations הַשְׁלֵךְ (imperative)—הִשְׁלֵךְ (past) and הַשְׁלֵיךְ (imperative)—הִשְׁלִיךְ (past). The first lacks a *yod* in both imperative and past whereas

the second has a *yod* in both forms. The purpose of distinguishing the two conjugations was to account for the lack of *yod* in the attested imperative and short imperfect forms such as וַיַּשְׁלֵ֣ךְ ‘and he cast’ (Jud. 9.17) versus the presence of *yod* in other inflections such as הִשְׁלִיךְ (past), מַשְׁלִיךְ (active participle) and הַשְׁלִיךְ (infinitive). In the first conjugation the past form is hypothetical (הִשְׁלֵיךְ) whereas in the second conjugation the imperative is hypothetical (הַשְׁלֵיךְ with *yod*). Our passage in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* has the two past forms הִשְׁלִיךְ and הִשְׁלֵיךְ. It appears that this is a scribal error in the extant manuscripts and this should read הִשְׁלִיךְ and הִשְׁלֵךְ (without *yod*).

The past form הִפְצַר and its imperative form הַפְצַר are inferred from וְאָ֥וֶן וּתְרָפִ֖ים הַפְצַ֑ר ‘stubbornness is iniquity and idolatry’ (1 Sam. 15.23); cf. *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* (ed. Vidro 2013a, 131), Ibn Nūḥ, *Diqduq* (ed. Khan 2000b, 370–71).

The past form בִּקְשָׁה ‘he sought’ and its imperative form בַּקְשֵׁה are inferred from attested forms such as מְבַקְשֵׁ֥י פָנֶ֗יךָ ‘those who seek your face’’ (Psa. 24.6), which does not have *dagesh* in the *qof*; cf. *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* (ed. Vidro 2013a, 138-141), Ibn Nūḥ, *Diqduq* (ed. Khan 2000b, 61) and an early anonymous Karaite treatise (ed. Khan 2000a, 106–15).

The past form הִדְרְכָה ‘he bent (a bow)’ and its imperative הַדְרְכֵה are inferred from the attested form וַֽיַּדְרְכ֤וּ אֶת־לְשׁוֹנָם֙ קַשְׁתָּ֣ם שֶׁ֔קֶר ‘and they bent their tongue like their bow in falsehood’ (Jer. 9.2); cf. *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* (ed. Vidro 2013a, 138-139).

Conjugations represented by the symbol שִׁירָה contain a *ḥireq* in the first syllable of their imperative form and a *qameṣ* in the first syllable of their past form (*al-Kitāb al-Kāfī*, ed. Khan,

Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, §I.22.20.–§I.22.24.; *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd*, ed. Vidro 2013a, 172-189, *Meʾor ʿAyin* ed. Zislin 1990, 129), viz. שִׂים (imperative)—שָׂם (past), שִׂיחַ (imperative)—שָׂח (hypothetical past), הִכּוֹן (imperative)—נָכוֹן (past), הִמַּק (hypothetical imperative)—נָמַק (past) inferred from וּלְשׁוֹנ֖וֹ תִּמַּ֥ק 'and his tongue will rot' (Zech. 14.12) and הִבְאִ֣ישׁוּ נָ֭מַקּוּ חַבּוּרֹתָ֑י 'my wounds have grown foul and have festered' (Psa. 38.6), הִבּוּךְ (hypothetical imperative)—נָבוּךְ (hypothetical past)—נָבוּךְ (active participle) inferred from נְבֻכִ֥ים הֵ֖ם בָּאָ֑רֶץ 'they are entangled in the land' (Exod. 14.3). The imperative form הִסּוֹעַ, which is given in this section in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ* as an imperative of the symbol שִׂירָה, does not appear in the lists of conjugations in the Karaite grammatical texts and it is not clear from what attested forms it could be inferred. The lists offer other imperatives that are close in form, viz. הִסּוֹג inferred from נָסֹ֤גוּ אָחוֹר 'they shall be turned back' (Isa. 42.17) and הִנּוֹעַ inferred from כַּאֲשֶׁ֥ר יִנּ֖וֹעַ בַּכְּבָרָ֑ה 'as it is sieved in a sieve' (Amos 9.9) (*Kitāb al-ʿUqūd* ed. Vidro 2013a, 180-183). It is possible that הִסּוֹעַ is a scribal conflation of these two forms.

The symbol מֵסַב included conjugations that had *ṣere* in the final syllable of the imperative and *pataḥ* in the final syllable of the past form (*al-Kitāb al-Kāfī*, ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, §I.22.36; *Kitāb al-ʿUqūd*, ed. Vidro 2013a, 220-42; *Meʾor ʿAyin*, ed. Zislin 1990, 135-36). The *pataḥ* in the hypothetical past form הִתְהַלַּךְ would have been inferred from forms such as הִתְהַלַּ֣כְתִּי 'I walked' (Gen. 24.40).

## ➢ II.L.2.10.2.

פצאר אלחרף אלדי תחתה אלשוא סאכנא לא יתחרך בתה מהמא הוא תחתה ופצלה ממא בעדה ואצֿאפה אלי מא קבלה

Whatever letter it occurs under is not mobile at all and it (the quiescent *shewa*) cuts it off from what is after it and conjoins it to what is before it.

For this function of silent *shewa* see vol. 1, §I.2.5.2.

## ➢ II.L.2.12.

Some of the material in this section on the mobile *shewa* has parallels in earlier Masoretic treatises such as §11-§15 of Baer and Strack's (1879) corpus, *Diqduqe ha-Ṭeʿmim* (ed. Dotan 1967, §5, §14) and the *Treatise on the Shewa* (ed. Levy 1936).

## ➢ II.L.2.12.1.1.

אלאן אן יחסן מעה דכול אלגעיה כרג׳ בכרוג׳ אלמלך סוא נחו וְאִם כָּכָה אלשוא תחת אלואו כרג׳ אלואו בחרק מתל מא תחת אלאלף מכפפא למא לם תכון מעה אלגעיה

Now, if it is appropriate for *gaʿya* to occur on it, it is pronounced equal to the vowel (following it), for example, וְאִם־כָּ֫כָה 'and if thus' (Num. 11.15), in which *shewa* is under *vav* and the *vav* is pronounced with *ḥireq* like that which is under the *ʾalef*, but shortened since it it does not have *gaʿya*.

The argument here is that a *shewa* with a *gaʿya* behaves like a full vowel and so would be long in an open syllable.

- II.L.2.12.2.1.

פשוא אלדׄ חרוף מקצור עלי מא קבלה ושוא אליוד גיר מקצור עלי מא בעדה

The *shewa* of the four letters is restricted by what is before it, but the *shewa* of *yod* is not restricted by what is after it.

The intention here seems to be as follows. When a *shewa* is followed by a guttural consonant, its realization is determined by whether or not it is preceded by a guttural consonant. The realization of *shewa* before *yod*, however, is not affected by the vowel that follows the *yod*.

- **II.L.2.12.3.3.**

אין אב ללגעיה

The *gaʿya* has no principle.

In modern terminology this is tantamount to saying that the *gaʿya* has no phonological function but is only an optional phonetic phenomenon. This applies to cases where, according to the discussion in this passage, the reader has a choice as to whether to pronounce *gaʿya* or not. It would not apply to cases such as יִֽשְׁנוּ ‘they [do not] sleep’ (Prov. 4.16)—וַיִּֽשְׁנ֔וּ ‘and they did it a second time’ (1 Kings 18.34), where the *gaʿya* is obligatory.

- **II.L.2.12.5.**

פאן תם אלף מסתעאר פאדא קלת שְׁתַים שְׁתֵי צאר אלשוא סאכן

For if there is an added *ʾalef* and you say [ʔɛʃˈtʰaːjim] and [ʔɛʃˈtʰeː], the *shewa* becomes quiescent.

In the available manuscripts, the prosthetic *ʾalef* is not written. It is explicitly written in discussions of this topic in some other Masoretic treatises, e.g. *Treatise on the Shewa* and the other sources discussed by Levy (1936, 31–33).

### ➢ II.L.2.12.6.

Parallels to this section are found in §14 of Baer and Strack's (1879) corpus of Masoretic treatises and in *Kitāb al-Muṣawwitāt* (ed. Allony 1963, 146; 1983, 116).

For the *ḥaṭef qameṣ* in the closed syllable of מֳשְׁכ֥וּ אוֹתָ֖הּ 'drag her!' (Ezek. 32.20) see vol. 1, §I.2.5.1.

### ➢ II.L.2.12.9.

The point of adducing שָׁמְרָ֣ה נַ֭פְשִׁי וְהַצִּילֵ֑נִי 'Guard my life and deliver me' (Psa. 25.20) and מָשְׁכ֥וּ אוֹתָ֖הּ 'draw her down' (Ezek. 32.20) as an objection seems to be that in some manuscripts the short *qameṣ* in words such as שָׁמְרָ֣ה and מָשְׁכ֥וּ was represented by *ḥaṭef qameṣ*, and this could be construed as a mobile *shewa*, which would be followed by quiescence in the following letter. The response is referring to standard Tiberian vocalization, in which the shortness is not represented by using a *ḥaṭef qameṣ* in a closed syllable, but there is reliance only on the oral tradition.

### ➢ II.L.2.12.10.

The argument of this subsection complements that of the ninth subsection. The claim is that a mobile *shewa* has to be followed

by a vowel and then, on the third letter, a quiescent *shewa* may occur.

### ➢ II.L.2.13.1.

See vol. 1, §I.2.5.8.1.

### ➢ II.L.2.13.2.

For an explanation for the reading of the *shewa* as silent in the six words that deviate from this rule, see vol. 1, §I.2.5.7.3.

### ➢ II.L.2.13.3.

For the distribution of vocalic *shewa* after conjunctive *vav*, see vol. 1, §I.2.5.8.4.

### ➢ II.L.2.15.

For the theory of vowel production described in this section, see vol. 1, §I.2.1.3.

### ➢ II.L.2.16.

In the Karaite grammatical works the term *ʿaraḍ* is normally used to designate a noun referring to an abstract quality that is an attribute of an entity, e.g. Ibn Nūḥ, *Diqduq* (ed. Khan 2000b, 238): בֶּכִי ‘weeping’ (Psa. 30.6), מֶ֑רִי ‘rebellion’ (Num. 17.25), also *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Khan, Gallego and Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, xliv). Here the concept of *ʿaraḍ* has been extended to include also finite verbs.

### ➢ II.L.2.17.

This section is an analysis of the differences between vowels within the framework of the theory of the production of vowels that is adopted elsewhere in *Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ*, see comments on §II.L.2.3. above.

### ➢ II.L.3.2.1.

Cf. §44 in the Masoretic corpus published by Baer and Strack (1879).

### ➢ II.L.3.2.3.

Cf. §56 in the Masoretic corpus published by Baer and Strack (1879).

ורבאטהא אקלקני אלעבד כשית אלוגע קתלתה

> Their mnemonic combination is ‘The slave has vexed me; I have feared pain; I have killed him’.

For such mnemonic devices see Vidro (2013b).

### ➢ II.L.3.2.4.

Cf. §40 and §72 in the Masoretic corpus published by Baer and Strack (1879); *Seder ha-Simanim* (Allony 1965, כז־כח) and *Kitāb al-Muṣawwitāt* (Allony 1963, 148–50; 1983, 106–9). See also vol. 1, §I.2.11.

### ➢ II.L.3.2.5.

Cf. *Diqduqe ha-Ṭeʿamim* (ed. Dotan 1967, §7). For the exceptional cases see the discussion in vol. 1, §I.2.3.2., §I.2.11.

### ➢ II.L.3.2.6.

Cf. *Diqduqe ha-Ṭeʿamim* (ed. Dotan 1967, §8). For the exceptional cases see the discussion in vol. 1, §I.2.3.2., §I.2.11.

### ➢ II.L.3.2.7.

Cf. *Diqduqe ha-Ṭeʿamim* (ed. Dotan 1967, §21). Cf. vol. 1, §I.2.5.7.5.

## SHORT VERSION

### ➢ II.S.0.0.

The short version begins with an authorial introduction, in which ʾAbū al-Faraj states that he has been requested to compose a short version of the longer work. As remarked in the comments above on the introduction to the long version, such an indication of a 'request to compose' was a standard component of introductions to Arabic works of the period and may have been fictitious, especially when, as is the case here, the requester remains anonymous.

### ➢ II.S.1.7.

In this section ʾAbū al-Faraj adds a comment on the phenomenon that he discussed a length in §II.L.1.5. of the long version. He

indicates that he now prefers not to refer to the phenomenon as ‘interchange’ (*tabdīl*), since it is possible that the change of letters in the forms in question expresses semantic modification.

- **II.S.2.9.**

The one exception that breaks this rule is אֲדֹנָ֣י בָּ֑ם ‘the Lord in them’ (Psa. 68.18); cf. long version, §II.L.1.7.8.

- **II.S.4.2.**

For this notion of the vowels being realizations of ‘soft’ letters א, ה, ו, and י see vol. 1, §I.2.1.8.

- **II.S.5.6.**

> ואעלם אן אלשוא אלמתחרך לא יקע פי אלחרף אלתאני לה סכון בתה לאנה יתחרך לאגל חרכת אלאול באלשוא
>
> Take note that a mobile *shewa* never occurs on a second letter (of a word) that has a silent (following letter), because it (this second letter) is mobile due to the mobility of the first letter with *shewa*.

I.e. if the first letter of a word has *shewa*, which must be mobile, the second letter cannot have a mobile *shewa*. This second letter has a vowel and this is followed by a silent letter, which is either a normal consonant, e.g. לְכַרְמִי, or a ‘soft’ letter inside a long vowel (see short version §II.S.4.2.), e.g. לְכוּ.

- **II.S.5.7.**

Both the *qameṣ* and the stressed *pataḥ* of the cited words were pronounced long, so, according to the theory of ‘soft’ letters (cf.

short version §II.S.4.2.), they contained an *ʾalef*, although this does not appear in the orthography.

### ➢ II.S.6.11.

The argument here seems to be that a mobile *shewa* is dependent on a mobile letter with a vowel, which, therefore, obligatorily follows a mobile *shewa*. A mobile *shewa* cannot be dependent on another mobile *shewa*. A quiescent *shewa* can come after a sequence of mobile *shewa* and a letter with a vowel, but not immediately after the initial mobile *shewa*.

# REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

## ABBREVIATIONS

Bod. = Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

CUL = Cambridge University Library

JRL = John Rylands Library, University of Manchester

NLR = National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg

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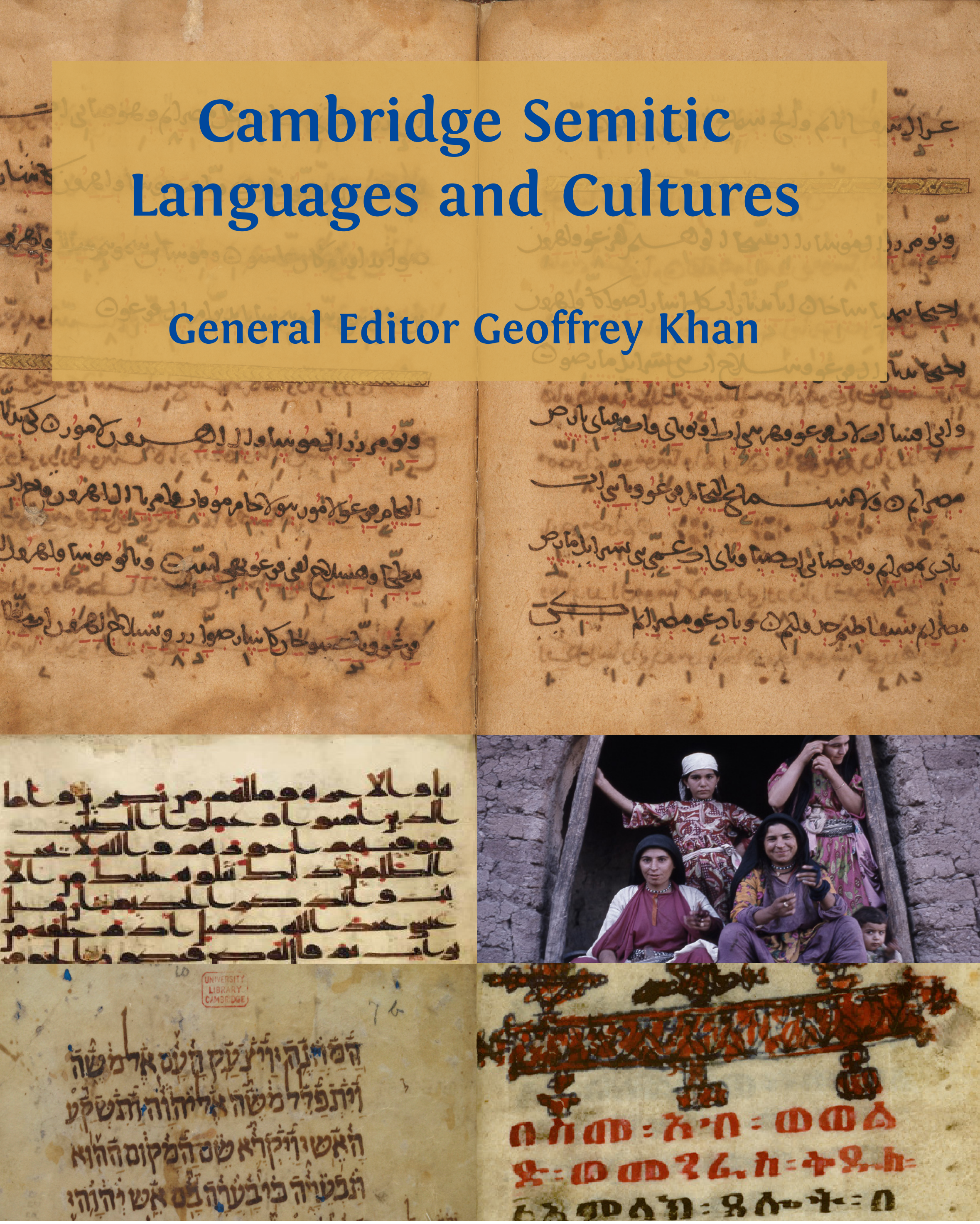
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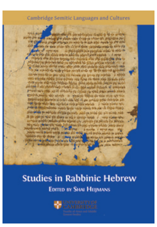
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# The Tiberian Pronunciation Tradition of Biblical Hebrew (Vol. II)

## Geoffrey Khan

The form of Biblical Hebrew that is presented in printed editions, with vocalization and accent signs, has its origin in medieval manuscripts of the Bible. The vocalization and accent signs are notation systems that were created in Tiberias in the early Islamic period by scholars known as the Tiberian Masoretes, but the oral tradition they represent has roots in antiquity. The grammatical textbooks and reference grammars of Biblical Hebrew in use today are heirs to centuries of tradition of grammatical works on Biblical Hebrew in Europe. The paradox is that this European tradition of Biblical Hebrew grammar did not have direct access to the way the Tiberian Masoretes were pronouncing Biblical Hebrew.

In the last few decades, research of manuscript sources from the medieval Middle East has made it possible to reconstruct with considerable accuracy the pronunciation of the Tiberian Masoretes, which has come to be known as the 'Tiberian pronunciation tradition'. This book presents the current state of knowledge of the Tiberian pronunciation tradition of Biblical Hebrew and a full edition of one of the key medieval sources, Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ 'The Guide for the Reader', by ʾAbū al-Faraj Hārūn. It is hoped that the book will help to break the mould of current grammatical descriptions of Biblical Hebrew and form a bridge between modern traditions of grammar and the school of the Masoretes of Tiberias.

Links and QR codes in the book allow readers to listen to an oral performance of samples of the reconstructed Tiberian pronunciation by Alex Foreman. This is the first time Biblical Hebrew has been recited with the Tiberian pronunciation for a millennium.

As with all Open Book publications, this entire book is available to read for free on the publisher's website. Printed and digital editions, together with supplementary digital material, can also be found at www.openbookpublishers.com

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